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New Light on Eighteenth-Century English Woodwind Makers from Newspaper Advertisements

Dedicated to Dr Maurice Byrne in recognition of his researches on English wind makers¹

Since Dr Charles Burney in the 1770s, researchers have been using newspaper advertisements to trace musical activity in England in the eighteenth century.² Two notable reference works of the 1960s and 70s facilitated access to these advertisements by researchers: Michael Tilmouth's calendar for the years 1660–1719, originally part of his doctoral thesis,³ and *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, which calendared performances for the entire period it surveyed.⁴ But research on instrument makers, particularly after 1719, has required painstaking work, necessarily piecemeal, in libraries and archives.

The advent of a database containing the images of the entire Burney Newspaper Collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British news-

papers at the British Library has now made it possible to conduct systematic keyword searches of this corpus.⁵ The present article is a byproduct of my search for information in the database about the use of the recorder throughout the eighteenth century. It began with the search 'flute or flutes' in classified advertisements, which resulted in no fewer than 17,257 'hits' related to published music and tutors, performances, sales and auctions, teachers, and makers and sellers of instruments. (Doing the same search outside advertisements mostly produces instances of the type of small ship called flute.) The optical character recognition in this database is imperfect, so I may have still missed some relevant items. I conducted supplementary searches on individual makers and other woodwind

¹ I am most grateful to him, Cecil D. Adkins, and Ardal Powell for their comments on drafts of this article. I also appreciate the help of Jan Bouterse; Maggie Bruce; Mathew Dart; Michael Finkelman; Bernard Gordillo; Sue Gibbons, Society of Genealogists, London; Alan Green and Michael Murray, The Ohio State University Music Library; Robin Howell; Cornelia S. King, Library Company of Philadelphia; Arnold Myers, Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments; Amber Paranick, Library of Congress; Nikolaj Tarasov; Andreas Weinrich; and Lance Whitehead.

² Charles Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Day* (London, 1776–79); ed. Frank Mercer, 2 vols. (London: Foulis, 1935).

³ Michael Tilmouth, 'A Calendar of References to Music in Newspapers Published in London and the Provinces (1660–1719)', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* 1 (entire volume); 'Chamber Music in England, 1675–1720' (Ph.D. thesis, Christ's College, Cambridge University, 1960).

⁴ *The London Stage, 1660–1800*, 4 Parts and an Index (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960–79).

⁵ *17th–18th Century Burney Collection Newspapers* (Gale); accessed November 2008–April 2009.

instruments, including the makers' relationships with brass instruments, guitars, and pianos, as those came up.

To my amazement, significant information unknown to previous researchers emerged for more than forty makers. For the present article, I have supplemented the newly discovered advertisements with material gleaned from a similar search for members of the flute family in: three other databases of English newspapers, two databases of eighteenth-century American newspapers, digitized London directories, a database of material relating to London music trades in the second half of the eighteenth century, a database of proceedings of the Old Bailey, and a privately published calendar of musical instruments in Dutch auction catalogues.⁶

John Hall (b. c1655; fl. 1729)

We begin with the following advertisement, which appeared one year before the eighteenth century, in *Post Man and the Historical Account*,⁷ 27 January 1700:

... two new Flutes made by Hall... They were stoln at the Fire in Red Lyon Square. Notice to be given to the Lady Anderson at Mrs Knightly's at her house in Red Lyon Square...⁸

The term flute had meant recorder in England since

the 1670s.

Nothing has been published previously about Hall, whose first name was John. According to the records of the Turners Company of London, he was the son of Samuel Hall of London, mariner.⁹ John was apprenticed for seven years to Christopher Keene on 22 June 1669, and freed on 4 July 1677. Other apprenticeships in the Company were timed to end when the boy reached the age of 21, so Hall was probably born around 1655. His master, Christopher Keene (d. 1698), has also not been heard of previously, but he forms part of a large network of turners, some of whom are known to have been primarily woodwind makers (see Appendix 1, at the end of this article).¹⁰

Hall was listed in the poll tax for the parish of St Andrew Holborn in July 1689 as 'Scroops Court & wife' at 2s.¹¹ The Rocque map of London (1747) shows Scroop's Court off Holbourn Hill, close to the church.¹² Hall was again listed in 1691–92 under 'Scroopes Court' as 'flutemaker' with his wife at 2s and a servant called Alice Kennarston at 1s.¹³ The poll tax of January[?] 1695 still places him in Scroop's Court with a wife, a child, and an apprentice.¹⁴ But when his son Matthias was baptised at St Andrew Holborn on 8 March 1696, John was listed with his wife Mary at 'Smiths Co^{rt} in Holborn'.¹⁵ He took five apprentices: Anthony Green (1690), William Wood (1696), James Low (1718), Edward Needham (1728),

⁶ *Gazettes*; available from <http://www.london-gazette.co.uk/>; accessed March 2009; *19th Century British Newspapers* (Gale); accessed January–April 2009; *The Times Digital Archive 1785–1985* (Gale); accessed January–April 2009; *The Performing Arts in Colonial American Newspapers, 1690–1783*, compiled by Mary Jane Corry, Kate Van Winkle Keller, and Robert M. Keller (New York: University Music Editions, 1997); *Early American Newspapers, Series I, 1690–1896* (Readex, a division of NewsBank, Inc.; available on subscription from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com>); accessed 2006; *London Music Trades 1750–1800*, sponsored by the Centre for Performance History, Royal College of Music; available from <http://lmt.rcm.ac.uk/default.aspx>; accessed February 2009; *The Proceedings of the Old Bailey, 1674–1913*; available from <http://www.oldbaileyonline.org/>; accessed March 2009; Gerard Verloop, *Het muziekinstrument op de boekenveiling, 1623–1775* (privately printed, 2002); *Het muziekinstrument op de boekenveiling, 1776–1810* (privately printed, 2002); *Het muziekinstrument op de boekenveiling, 1811–1850* (privately printed, 2003).

⁷ To save space, I have omitted the definite article from the titles of all the newspapers quoted.

⁸ This and the following pre-1720 advertisements quoted are not found in Tilmouth, *Calendar*. The fire in Red Lion Square burned down four houses, apparently killing one of the owners and causing an estimated £20,000 of damage. Two 'fellows' were spotted with trunks on their backs, leaving the scene. *Post Man and the Historical Account*, 18 January; *Post Boy*, 23 January 1700.

⁹ Turners Company of London, Apprentice bindings and freedoms 1604–1694, Guildhall Library, London, Ms. 3302/1.

¹⁰ These makers will be the subject of a forthcoming article.

¹¹ Notes on the St Andrew Holborn poll tax (24, 11) found at Guildhall Library; accessed in 1981.

¹² *The A to Z of Georgian London*, introductory notes by Ralph Hyde (Lympne Castle, Kent: Harry Margary, in association with Guildhall Library, London, 1981), map 4Bc.

¹³ St Andrew Holborn poll tax notes (14, 20).

¹⁴ Notes on the Farrington Ward Without poll tax (60, 17) found at Guildhall Library; accessed in 1981.

¹⁵ Guildhall Library, Ms. 6667/6. Smith's Court is not shown on the Rocque map.

and William Hosmar (1729), none of whom was freed.¹⁶ His son Matthias Hall was freed by patrimony in the Turners Company on 6 December 1721.

Simon Robinson (d. 1703)

'Simon Robinson of the Parish of St Martin in the Fields in the County of Middx Flute maker' made his Will on 3 June 1703.¹⁷ Among other bequests he left to his son Simon 'the sum of ten pounds with all my working tooles instruments woods and all other materials belonging to my Trade And all my wearing Apparel and his own picture'. The will was proved on 26 June.

Robinson does not appear in the Turners Company master-apprentice listings referred to above, perhaps because he practised in Westminster rather than the City of London. He might have been the 'Mr Robinson, near St. James Church' who supplied information about the 'English hautbois, treble' (treble shawm) to James Talbot in the 1690s.¹⁸

Peter Bressan (1663–1731)

Maurice Byrne's researches established that Bressan married Mary Margaret, daughter of Claude Mignon, in 1703, and was a lodger in Mignon's house.¹⁹ The following advertisement in *Daily Courant*, 14 March 1711, brings to light the Sign of the house at this early stage; in 1724 he used 'the Green Door'.

Lost a Gold Watch-Case, ingraven the 4 Seasons of the Year, and Diana and Andimion in the middle of it, on Monday Night the 12th Instant, between Sommerset-House-yard and St. Martin's-street Letterfields. Whoever brings the said Case to Mr. Bressan, Flute-maker, at the 2 Flower-Pots in Sommerset-House-yard in the Strand, shall receive 2 Guineas Reward; or whoever shall stop it, if offer'd to be sold or pawn'd, shall receive the same if brought as aforesaid.

Instruments by Bressan are mentioned in advert-

isements and auction catalogues both during his lifetime and afterwards.

14 July 1708, *Daily Courant*

Stolen out of a Gentleman's Chambers in the Temple ... a Tortoise-shell Flute, an Ebony one, and several others of different sorts of Bressan... If any of the above are offer'd to be Sold, Pawn'd or Valued, you are desir'd to stop the same and the Party and give notice thereof to W. Freeman at the Bible against the Middle-Temple-Gate, and you shall be well Rewarded for your pains.

One surviving treble recorder by Bressan, Paris C. 394, E. 283, has tortoiseshell cladding (now a bit loose).²⁰ We know little about the recorder-buying habits of individual gentlemen during this period. So it is noteworthy that this gentleman, a lawyer, owned a number of Bressan instruments 'of different sorts', presumably sizes.

17 May 1732, *Daily Journal*

To be Sold by Auction. On Monday the 22d Day of May Inst. in Dover-House, Dover-Street, St. James's... All the rich Plate of a noble Peer, lately deceas'd; among which ... a complete Case of Flutes, made by the late famous Mr. Bressan...

The surviving case described by William Waterhouse in 1993 contained a pair of alto recorders by Bressan.²¹ The adjective 'complete' before the case advertised above suggests a larger selection of recorders, perhaps a full consort. That larger cases existed is shown by the following instruments listed in the auction catalogue for the combined possessions of a Colonel John Moore and the famous architect Nicholas Hawksmoor in 1740:²²

Musical Instruments and Books of Musick.

1. A Case with five Fluits by Bresan

¹⁶ Turners Company of London, Apprentice bindings 1694–1759, Guildhall Library, Ms. 3302/2; Freedoms 1694–1759, Ms. 3303.

¹⁷ National Archives, PROB 11/470.

¹⁸ Anthony Baines, 'James Talbot's Manuscript (Christ Church Library Music Ms 1187), 1. Wind Instruments', *GSJ* 1 (1948), 12.

¹⁹ Maurice Byrne, 'Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan', *GSJ* 36 (1983): 8–9; *Grove Music Online*, s.v., 'Bressan, P(eter)', by Byrne; accessed 6 January 2009.

²⁰ Information from Maurice Byrne.

²¹ William Waterhouse, 'A Case of Flutes by Bressan', *GSJ* 46 (1993), 162–63.

²² *A Catalogue of the Household Furniture, and Effects of the Hon. Col. John Mercer, Late of Denmark Street, Soho; and Nicholas Hawksmoor, Esq; Both Deceased* ([London, 1740], 18; reprinted in *Architects*, ed., with introductions, by D. J. Watkin, *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, vol. 4 (London: Mansell with Sotheby Parke-Bernet Publications, 1972).

2. A ditto with a German Fluit, Houtboy and twelve other Fluits, and a pitch Pipe by Bressan
...
10. A curious fluit Cane by Bressan

A 'fluit cane' was a walking stick in which a recorder was incorporated. It doubtless came in handy for gentleman out on a stroll who wished to stop and play a few tunes. The Dutch called such an instrument *fluytstok*, *fluyt konst-stok*, *fluitrotting*, or *Cannes a Flute a Bec*. It first appears in 1691 in advertisements by two different Amsterdam workshops, Michiel Parent and Jan van Heerde's widow and sons.²³ An example survives by Richard Haka, whose father was a walking-stick maker and who made walking sticks himself.²⁴ The inventory-after-death of the celebrated recorder player James Paisible (1721) included 'an old cane flute';²⁵ the inventory was taken by his executor, Bressan, who had presumably made the instrument himself. There are further references in The Netherlands and France, the last undoubted example, '*Een Wandelstok zynde een fluyt Doux*', being auctioned in The Hague as late as 1784.²⁶ For an earlier English example, see under Schuchart below.

The inventory of the possessions of the celebrated Amsterdam music publisher Michel Charles Le Cène after his death in 1743 included:²⁷

- No. 1 *Twee zwarte 'fluyt dous' met ivoor van Bressan (6–0).*
No. 2 *Een bruine 'dito' van Bressan (1–0).*
No. 3 *Een zwarte 'sang fluyt' met ivoor van Bressan (4–0).*
No. 4 *Een bruine altfluit van Bressan (2–0).*
No. 5 *Een bruine kwartfluit van Bressan...*
No. 7 *Twee kwartfluiten met ivoor van Van Heerde*
No. 8 *Twee octaaffluitten met ivoor van Van Heerde en 'rotting fluijt'.*
No. 9 *Een bruine basfluit van Bressan.*

- [No. 1 Two black recorders with ivory by Bressan (6 guilders).
No. 2 A brown ditto by Bressan (1 guilder).
No. 3 A black voice flute with ivory by Bressan (4 guilders).

- No. 4 A brown tenor (?) recorder by Bressan (2 guilders).
No. 5 A brown fourth flute by Bressan...
No. 7 Two fourth flutes with ivory by Van Heerde. (Nos. 5–7 valued together at 2 guilders)
No. 8 Two sopranino recorders with ivory by Van Heerde and a walking-stick recorder.
No. 9 A brown bass recorder by Bressan. (Nos. 8–9 valued together at 3 guilders)]

Like many London music publishers, including John Walsh, Le Cène evidently had a sideline selling instruments. The Dutch term *sang fluyt*, placed in quotation marks, is a direct translation of the English term voice flute, an alto recorder in D.

During the 1740s, instruments by Bressan were mentioned in two further advertisements:

22 December 1743, *Daily Advertiser*

To be sold by HAND, This and the following Days, at CARR's Publick Sale-Warehouse, within two Doors of the Buffalo Tavern in Bloomsbury-Square, A Collection of Pictures... also a fine Set of Flutes, by Brassan, and three Shallamores...

Although the term flute was beginning to be ambiguous, it clearly still referred to the recorder here. The wording suggests that the three chalumeaux were made by another maker.

1 April 1745, *Daily Advertiser*

To be Sold by HAND, Tomorrow, and the following Days, ALL the entire genuine Houshold Goods of Mr. GEORGE STRACEY, brought from his late House at Newington-Butts, for Conveniency of Sale, to the Sign of the White Lion, facing the East-India Warehouse, in Fenchurch-Street; with the rem[a]ining Part of those of Mr. WILLIAM STRONG, Silk-Dyer; consisting of ... two fine Concert Flutes by Bressan...

The term consort flute for the treble recorder, found in the James Talbot manuscript (compiled 1692–95),²⁸ had by this time metamorphosed into 'concert

²³ Advertisement by Michiel Parent, *Amsterdamsche Courant*, 27 February 1691; see Jan Bouterse, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers*, 1660–1760 (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, 2005), 81–82.

²⁴ And another by F. Eerens; see Bouterse, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers*, 310–11.

²⁵ Public Record Office, London, PROB 10/1618.

²⁶ Sale of the belongings of Heer H.... by Johannes Mensert, The Hague, 8 November 1784; see Verloop, *Het muziekinstrument op de boekenveiling, 1776–1810*, 15.

²⁷ Amsterdam, Gemeentearchief, file number 5075, notarial archive no. 10226, act no. 539; transcribed in Jan Bouterse, 'The Inventory of the Musical Instruments of Michel Charles Le Cène (1743)', *FoMRHI Quarterly*, no. 90 (January 1991): 18–19; see also Bouterse, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers*, Appendix B, 3.

²⁸ See Baines, 'James Talbot's Manuscript', 11, 17–18.

flute'. An auction advertised in *Daily Journal* on 20 February 1731 featured 'fine German and Concert Flutes'. In his *New Musical Grammar: or The Harmonical Spectator* (1746), reprinted almost word for word in his *The Elements of Musick Display'd* (1772), the well-known psalmodist William Tans'ur, Sr. noted: 'Of flutes there are many sorts, as a concert flute, a third flute, a fifth, and a sixth, and octave flute, yet all may be play'd by the foregoing rules'.²⁹

The auction catalogue of the possessions of the late Nicolas Selhof, bookseller, by A. Moetjens, bookseller, in The Hague in 1759 lists, alongside many Dutch instruments:³⁰

131 Une Flute douce longue de Basse de R. T. Bressan...

145 Deux Flutes a Bec de Brasam...

[131. A long bass recorder by P. I. Bressan...

145. Two recorders by Bressan]

The 'long' bass recorder may well have been a true bass in C, not what we now call a basset in F. Talbot, who included measurements for tenor and basset recorders by Bressan in his manuscript, called the basset *bass* and the *bass pedal or great bass*.

Finally, more than forty years after Bressan's death, the following advertisement appeared:

6 April 1774, *Daily Advertiser*

TO be sold by Auction, this Day, to the Trade and Dealers in Wearing Apparel, a few Houshold Goods ... a Set of Basan's Flutes... belonging to Mr. BROWN, at No. 58, Drury-Lane...

By this time the term flute was shifting towards its modern meaning of transverse flute, but again, it still means recorder here.

Harris and Harris

Waterhouse speculates that there were two different makers called Harris.³¹ The first, '?mid 18c.', from whom survive a treble recorder with body by Bressan but head and foot joints marked 'Harris' over a crowned cinquefoil; and a treble recorder with head and foot joints by Stanesby Junior but body marked 'Harris'.³² The second, 'late 18c', maker of a surviving flute marked 'Harris London', which Waterhouse tentatively attributes to later turners named John and Joseph Harris who flourished around 1780.

The new evidence tends to support the two-Harris theory. Besides the instruments by Bressan, the Moore and Hawksmoor auction catalogue of 1740 includes: 'A fluit Cane by Harris'. This reference confirms a working period for one Harris that coincided with those of Bressan (d. 1731) and Stanesby Junior (d. 1754). Forty years later, Robert Harris, flute maker, of Turnmill Street, Clerkenwell, was a witness in a legal case at the Old Bailey on 10 May 1780.³³

Thomas Stanesby Junior (bap. 1692, d. 1754), Henry Kusder (d. 1802), and the Milhouse Family

3 August 1739, *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*
MARYBONE GARDENS. On Monday next, and to be continued, THE USUAL CONCERT. To which will

²⁹ William Tans'ur, *A New Musical Grammar*, 3rd ed. with large additions (London, 1756), 102; *The Elements of Musick Display'd* (London, 1772), 90 ('sorts' changed to 'sizes'). By 1772, an advertisement by Bastin that includes the phrase 'concert and other German flutes' shows that the term had come to mean flutes of concert quality (*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 25 May 1772).

³⁰ *Catalogue d'une très belle bibliotheque de livres, curieux & rare, en toutes sortes de facultez & langues.... Auquel suit le catalogue d'une partie très considerable de livres de musique.... ainsi qu'une collection de toutes sortes d'instruments, deslaissez par feu Monsieur Nicolas Selhof, libraire, lesquels seront vendus publiquement aux plus offrants, mercredi le 30 mai 1759 & jours suivants dans la maison de la veuve d'Adrien Moetjens, libraire dans le Hofstraat* (The Hague: la veuve d'Adrien Moetjens, 1759); facsimile, *Catalogue of the Music Library, Instruments and Other Property of Nicolas Selhof, Sold in The Hague, 1759*, with an introduction by A. Hyatt King, *Auction Catalogues of Music*, 1 (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1973); see also Jan Bouterse, 'The Selhof Auction (1759)', *FoMRHI Quarterly*, no. 89 (October 1997): 23–26. Curiously, the same instruments with the same numbers were offered for sale in The Hague on 24 November 1760, said to be a sale 'door Wylen de heer Hugo van Son, In Leven afgetrede Procureur voor de Respectieve Hoven van Justitie in Holland en de heer P. K. C.', in the house of Nicolaas van Daalen, bookseller, 'in de Hofstraat'. Openbare Leeszaal en Bibliotheek Amsterdam, No. 972, fiches 1644–1646; Verloop, *Het Muziekinstrument op de Boekenveiling, 1623–1775*, 26–30.

³¹ William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index: A Dictionary of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers and Inventors* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 162.

³² Current Register of Historic Instruments', *GSJ* 17 (1964), 108; 24 (1971), 102.

³³ *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 10 May 1780; Jenny Nex and Lance Whitehead, 'Musical Instrument Making in Georgian London, 1753–1809: Evidence from the Proceedings of the Old Bailey and the Middlesex Sessions of the Peace', *Eighteenth Century Music* 2, no. 2 (2005): 263, 269.

be added (for the better Entertainment of Gentlemen and Ladies, the Undertaker being desirous to make the Concert the most complete.) Two GRAND or DOUBLE BASSOONS, made by Mr. Stanesby, jun. the Greatness of whose Sound surpasses that of any other Base Instrument whatsoever. Never perform'd before.

The advertisement was repeated on 6, 10, and 14 August with essentially the same information about the maker and instruments.³⁴ A contrabassoon by Stanesby Junior dated 1739 survives in the National Museum, Dublin.³⁵ Eric Halfpenny came across the 6 August version of the advertisement and published an article based on it in 1953.³⁶ He must have misread either the advertisement or his notes, because he stated that the advertisement concerns 'Mr. Stanesby, Senior'; then he proceeded to argue correctly that, since Stanesby Senior died in 1734, the contrabassoons must have been made by Stanesby Junior.³⁷

The following advertisement, in *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 11 August 1739, presumably concerns a flute with two extra *corps de rechange* (lower middle joints):

LOST, On Monday was Se-nnight, July 30, believ'd to have been left in a Hackney Coach. TWO Small Green Bags, containing a Brown-colour'd German Flute in six Pieces, the Maker's Name *Stanesby, jun.* Whoever brings it not broken to Mr. Douglas, at the British Coffee-house at Charing-Cross, shall receive One Guinea Reward, and no Questions ask'd.

None of the thirty-nine surviving flutes by Stanesby Junior has any extra middle joints.³⁸ More than forty years after Stanesby's death, however, the following instrument appeared in a sale at the bookshop of B. Scheurleer, in Veenestraat, by the booksellers Scheurleer and A. Gaillard in The Hague, 21 December 1795: '*Een fraaye Zwart Ebbenhoute Dwarsfluyt, met vier middel stukken in*

een fluweele Zak, door Stanesbi, Junior' (A beautiful black ebony flute, with four middle joints in a velvet bag, by Stanesby Junior).³⁹ Flutes of this type are first documented in America in an advertisement in the *New York Mercury*, 13 August 1759:

To be sold by a Gentleman who lodges at Widow Darcey's nigh the Ship-Yards, opposite to William Walton's, Esq; and who is to go soon out of Town; exceeding good German Flutes, for three Dollars each; likewise others with 2, 3, 4 or 5 middle Pieces to change the Tones and Voice, do...

The following advertisement in *General Advertiser*, 3 December 1746, shows that Stanesby's flutes were worth pawning:

WHEREAS many People thro' Necessity, Pawn their Plate, Watches ... and are not able to Redeem the same again, This is to inform such Persons, that at Mr. PHILLIPS's, the King's-Arms, in Middle Scotland-Yard, Whitehall ... they may hear of a Person, that will Redeem their Goods, in Order to be forthwith sold to the best Bidder, allowing Satisfaction for Redeeming and Attending the Sale of the same... At the above Place is to be sold ... a German Flute by Stansby as good as new, very Cheap.

The next advertisement, in *Public Advertiser*, 26 June 1770, provides evidence that Stanesby's recorders (for which common flute was now the most popular term) were still in use. But the advertisement is more significant for its information on two other makers:

To the Pawnbrokers, Music-sellers, &c. STOLEN from a House at Islington the following Articles: A large Bassoon, made by Milhouse of Newark, a small Tenor ditto, made by the same, an Ivory German Flute by Kusder, several common Flutes tipped with Ivory, by Stanesby, jun... Whoever can give Information of the above to Mess. Longman and Lukey, Music-sellers, in

³⁴ Repeated 6 August 1739, 'This Day, and to be continued'; 10 August, same; 14 August, same.

³⁵ Phillip T. Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments: An Inventory of 200 Makers in International Collections* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 223.

³⁶ Eric Halfpenny, 'Stanesby Major and Minor', *Music & Letters* 34, no. 1 (January 1953), 41–43.

³⁷ The advertisement is still being quoted incorrectly in the article in *Grove Music Online*, s.v., 'Stanesby' by Friedrich von Huene; accessed 6 January 2009.

³⁸ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 221, lists an instrument by Stanesby Junior in the Benn Collection, Meopham, as having six pieces. But that seems to have been a typographical error: both Stanesby Junior flutes from that collection are now in the Edinburgh University Collection of Historic Musical Instruments (3902 and 3905), and according to its director, Arnold Myers, these flutes have only four joints (e-mail message to the author, 21 January 2009).

³⁹ Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 's-Gravenhage, No. 1020, fiches 1713–1715; Verloop, *Het muziekinstrument op de boekenveiling, 1776–1810*, 30–31.

Cheapside, or Mr. Dring, at the Feathers Tavern in the Strand, shall receive Two Guineas Reward.

Henry Kusder is a mysterious figure. Even his first name has been known from only one document, an entry in *Holden's Triennial Directory*, 1799: 'Kusder, Henry Musical Instrument-maker Flask-row, Chelsea'. Waterhouse ascribes the dates *fl* 1762–1801 to him, the first of which is derived from a speculation by Ribock in 1782 that 'not more than twenty years ago ... an instrument maker in London named Kusder' might have been responsible for adding the F, G \sharp and B \flat keys to the flute.⁴⁰ Powell notes that Ribock 'brought up Kusder's name because out of all the English keyed flutes being made at the time, Ribock had by chance seen only one, by this apparently insignificant figure. Kusder's surviving flutes are rather heterogeneous, with major differences in sounding lengths, tube division, and bore... perhaps Kusder was a dealer who bought in unmarked work from others and sold it under his own name'.⁴¹ Powell elaborates, 'At least one instrument with his name has London-made keywork (by John Hale), but another (US-Westport CT: Solum) is marked with a double-headed eagle of the Holy Roman Empire/Hapsburg variety and can hardly be by a [native] London maker. Others have a griffin or only a name'.⁴² John Solum observes, 'since his mark includes the double-headed Imperial

eagle, it is sometimes suggested that Kusder came from Germany, although no actual proof of this has yet been found'.⁴³ Such an eagle was also part of the mark of Schuchart Senior (see below). Waterhouse ascribes a death date of 1801 to Kusder solely on the basis of an exhibition catalogue by Herbert Heyde, who states, without a biographical source, '*Von dem 1801 verstorbenen Henry Kusder sind eine Reihe dieser sog. straight-top-Oboen erhalten...*'⁴⁴

The rate books of St George Hanover Square show that 'Henry Huster' entered Flask Row, Chelsea, around 1790.⁴⁵ Henry Kusder, widower, of St George Hanover Square, married Jane Dowdall, spinster, of St James Westminster at St George on 5 August 1801.⁴⁶ He did not survive long, dying on 2 October the next year, as his Will states.⁴⁷ He had made his Will on 25 January, and it was proved by Jane, the executrix, on 25 October.⁴⁸ The will reveals that all the goods, chattels, and credits of the deceased came to around £600. From March 1802 to 1805, the rate books give Kusder & Collard as the rate payers of the house, presumably some arrangement made between Jane Kusder and Henry Richard Collard, coal merchant, one of the witnesses to Henry's will.⁴⁹

Young lists seven surviving bassoons marked 'MILHOUSE / NEWARK' and three marked 'MILLHOUSE / NEWARK' (one of which has the top band on the butt joint inscribed 'MILLHOUSE, MAKER, 1763', but it is not original to the

⁴⁰ 'Wie alt sie eigentlich sei, und wer sie gemacht habe, kann ich nicht mit Gewißheit sagen; doch scheint sie mir nicht über 20 Jahre höchstens hinauszugehen, und entweder von dem Herrn Tromlitz in Leipzig, oder einem Instrumentmacher in London, Namens Kusder, herzurühren, indem ich sie, alles Nachforschens ungeachtet, noch bei keiner andern Flöte angetroffen habe... Herrn Tromlitz Einrichtung ist daher gewiß vorzuziehen, so wie überhaupt der äußerst fehlerhafte Bau und Arbeit der Kusderschen Flöten sie unter alle Vergleichung mit den meistens sehr guten Tromlitzischen erniedriget'. J. J. H. R[ibock], *Bemerkungen über die Flöte, und Versuch einer kurzen Anleitung zur bessern Einrichtung und Behandlung derselben* (Stendal, 1782), 2–3.

⁴¹ Johann George Tromlitz, *The Keyed Flute*, translated and edited with an introduction by Ardal Powell (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 184–85.

⁴² Powell, e-mail message to the author, 18 January 2009.

⁴³ John Solum, *The Early Flute* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 56.

⁴⁴ *Historische Musikinstrumente der Staatlichen Reka-Sammlung am Bezirksmuseum Viadrina Frankfurt (Oder): Katalog* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1989), 130.

⁴⁵ Information from Maurice Byrne.

⁴⁶ *The Register Book of Marriages belonging to the Parish of St George, Hanover Square, in the County of Middlesex*, ed. John H. Chapman, Publications of the Harleian Society, Registers XIV (London: the Society, 1888), II, 242.

⁴⁷ Information from Maurice Byrne.

⁴⁸ National Archives, PROB 11–1381–758; original will PROB 10–3592.

⁴⁹ Collard dissolved a partnership with Nathaniel Hadley the Younger, at Scotland Yard, on 24 June 1805. On 28 January the following year he was declared bankrupt, and was cleared on 26 April. In April 1808, he stood unsuccessfully for the office of Collector of the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce. On 1 August 1809 he was declared bankrupt again, when he was said to be 'late a Prisoner in His Majesty's Prison of the King's-Bench'; he was not cleared until April 1813. See *London Gazette*, 22, 25, 29 June 1805; 28 January, 8 March, 22, 26 April 1806; 1 August 1809; 9 March 1813; *Morning Chronicle*, 4, 8 April 1808.

instrument).⁵⁰ None of these bassoons is larger or smaller than the standard size.

Attributing the marks of the Milhouse family has been a thorny problem. Richard Milhouse Senior (1724–1775) worked in Newark-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire all his life. Waterhouse suggested that MILLHOUSE belonged to him, and MILHOUSE to his sons, Richard Junior (1759–1845) and William (b. 1761; d. 1835 or later).⁵¹ But Cecil Adkins rightly objected: ‘Of the forty known Newark instrument, [four]—[three] four-keyed bassoons (ca. 1760) and a vox humana—are stamped with the spelling “Millhouse”, and it seems inaccurate to circumscribe the elder Richard’s activity on the basis of these few early instruments or a spelling that is found nowhere else in connection with the family’.⁵²

Richard Junior was only 16 when his father died. Waterhouse notes that Richard Senior’s ‘will of 3 August 1775 (signed “R. Milhouse”) instructed his executors to either find for [Richard Junior] a partner to enter the business or else sell up; what transpired is not known’.⁵³ An advertisement in *London Evening Post* on 24 October that year now shows what arrangements had been made for the time being:

HANNAH MILLHOUSE, Widow of the late Richard Millhouse, of Newark upon Trent, Musical Instrument-maker, deceased, takes this public method to return her thanks to all her friends, for their favours, conferred on her late Husband; and hopes for the continuance of their future commands, which will be executed in the best manner as usual, having the assistance of an eminent hand from London, her son, and the same hands as were lately employed by her husband.

The mis-spelling of the last name is typical of the casual attitude towards spelling of that age, especially with a name derived from ‘mill’ and ‘house’. The ‘eminent master’ may have stayed on to train Richard and William. William established a workshop in London in 1787,⁵⁴ but a surviving vox humana is marked ‘W. MILHOUSE / NEWARK’, demonstrating prior activity there.⁵⁵

For the following flute, advertised in the *London Argus*, 30 December 1789, the ‘much marked’ tag suggests an old instrument, perhaps made by Richard Senior. There is one surviving one-keyed flute with the mark ‘MILHOUSE / NEWARK’.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, William was a prolific flute-maker, with some fifty surviving instruments.⁵⁷

STOLEN, Out of the House of Mr. CUERTON, Cabinet Maker, No. 16, James Street, Featherstone Street, St. Luke’s, on Sunday Night last ... a Cane-coloured German Flute, tipped with ivory, Maker’s name Millhouse, much marked at the top with the screw of a mouth-piece... If offered to pawn or sale, stop them and the party, and given information so that they be brought to justice, shall receive a handsome reward, by applying as above.

One I. P. wrote in *The Harmonicon* in 1830 that ‘Great improvements have been made on [the oboe] by Millhouse, the only maker in England of any celebrity’.⁵⁸ The following advertisement in *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 3 December 1791, addresses one such improvement:

WILLIAM MILHOUSE. Musical Instrument-maker, No. 100, Wardour-street, Soho. BEGS leave to inform his Friends, and the Public in general, that he now

⁵⁰ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 158–59; information about dating from Cecil D. Adkins, e-mail message to the author, 27 January 2009.

⁵¹ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 264.

⁵² Cecil Adkins, ‘William Milhouse and the English Classical Oboe’, *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 22 (1996): 47, n. 14; the article was reprinted in *The Double Reed* 24, no. 3 (2001): 101–20.

⁵³ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 264.

⁵⁴ He was married in Newark on 5 September 1786, then became a ratepayer at 100 Wardour Street in mid-1787. Adkins, ‘William Milhouse’, 81. His presence at that address, in the parish of St James Piccadilly, is confirmed by a poll tax record for 29 July 1788 (*London Music Trades 1750–1800*).

⁵⁵ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 159. Prior activity in Newark is also suggested by the wording of his advertisements in *Newark Herald*, 5, 14 October, 28 December 1791 and 23 May 1792, in which he ‘RESPECTFULLY offers his grateful Acknowledgments to the Public, for the great and liberal Support he has already received; and wishes to inform his Friends in NEWARK and its Vicinity...’ Adkins, ‘William Milhouse’, 52–53.

⁵⁶ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 157.

⁵⁷ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 159–61, lists forty-seven flutes; Powell’s *18th-Century Flute Database*, www.baroqueflute.com/database (accessed 19 January 2009), gives five and possibly seven more.

⁵⁸ I. P., ‘On the Oboe and Bassoon’, *The Harmonicon* 8 (1830): 192.

makes his ITALIAN HAUTBOYS with a new C Sharp Key, invented and used by Mr. W. PARKE, which will be found to make that Note so long [as] wanted, in the greatest perfection.

As this Invention will be doubt be copied, Mr. Milhouse requests his Friends and the Public to observe, that those that are not marked on the key 'W. Park, Inventor', are spurious, he being the only one that has the inventor's permission to use his name.

Makes Bassoons, Clarinets, Hautboys, German Flutes, Flageolets, &c. wholesale and retail.

Regiments supplied with all kinds of Instruments, warranted. Instruments properly repaired.

As long ago as 1956, Philip Bate noted the presence of this type of key on a surviving oboe by Milhouse, now in the Bate Collection, Oxford (No. 27): 'an unusual specimen [which has] three keys only—the c♯, a d♯ for the right little finger and a long c♯—in this case carried right up to the *left* little finger. This latter key is engraved "W. Parke, inventor"—possibly William Parke of *Musical Memoirs* fame, himself a well-known oboist... The sounding of c♯ on this instrument required the use of both little fingers, one to open the c♯ and the other to close the c♯'.⁵⁹ The instrument is illustrated in his Plate IV, No. 1 as well as in the more recent article on the Milhouse oboes by Adkins.⁶⁰ Such a key is unique on the fifty surviving oboes by Milhouse surveyed by Adkins. The instrument is marked 'W. MILHOUSE / LONDON',⁶¹ a form of mark evidently earlier than that found after his removal from Wardour Street in 1797: 'W. MILHOUSE / LONDON / 337 OXFORD STT.' The advertisement confirms the identity of William Thomas Parke (1761–1847), one of the leading oboists of the day.⁶²

Adkins classified the surviving oboes into eight

groups, in presumed chronological order, based on their type of top (straight or bulb), bore, presence of double holes, bell type, number of keys, and maker's mark.⁶³ Bate 27 falls into group 4, the first group to have the bulb top, which was used for the remaining groups. The presence of this type of top is probably the meaning of the term Italian in Milhouse's advertisement. Adkins produces evidence that the straight-top type in England was a cheaper model developed for sale in the 'country', outside London, for use in churches as part of a 'band' of stringed and woodwind instruments that served instead of the far more expensive organ. This type of oboe 'appears to have originated outside of London as a by-product of the resurgence of psalm singing in English country churches during the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century. Only later was the manufacture of these cheaper instruments taken up by the more prominent city makers, and then probably only as a means of increasing sales volume through their country sales'.⁶⁴

As we shall see, 'Italian' oboes are contrasted with 'English' ones in the catalogues of George Astor (1799) and Goulding, Phipps, & D'Almaine (1800). The origin of the bulb-top oboes remains controversial. The main developments in oboe design during the mid-late eighteenth century came from Dresden, in the hands of such makers as August Grenser (1720–1807), Jakob Friedrich Grundmann (1727–1800), and Heinrich Grenser (1764–1813).⁶⁵ The celebrated German oboist Johann Christian Fischer, who settled in London in 1768 (*Public Advertiser*, 16 April), had been a member of the Dresden Kapelle, 1760–64, then the Dresden opera orchestra, 1766, working alongside the Italian oboists Antonio Besozzi and his son Carlo.⁶⁶ The influence of Carlo Palanca of Turin

⁵⁹ Philip Bate, *The Oboe: An Outline of its History, Development and Construction* (London: Ernest Benn, 1956), 54.

⁶⁰ Adkins, 'William Milhouse', 62, Figure 16.

⁶¹ Adkins, 'William Millhouse', 69, Figure 22d. In his chart on p. 57 he omits 'LONDON' from the mark.

⁶² See *Dictionary of Musicians, from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time* (London: Sainsbury, 1825), II, s.v. 'Parke, (William Thomas)'; *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London 1660–1800*, ed. Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim & Edward A. Langhans (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press), 11 (1987), s.v. 'Parke, William Thomas'; and *Grove Music Online*, s.v., 'William Thomas Parke'; accessed 6 January 2009.

⁶³ Adkins, 'William Milhouse', 57, Figure 11.

⁶⁴ Adkins, 'William Milhouse', 66. His distinction between the two types of oboe is still valid, even if we accept Robert Howe's objection that the straight-top oboes were not necessarily cheaper to make than what he calls 'onion-top oboes' and his suggestion that the straight top was favoured because it 'looks much more chaste and pious'. Howe, 'Communication', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 25 (1999): 164–65; repeated in his 'Historical Oboes 5: The Milhouse Family and the English Straight-top Oboe', *The Double Reed* 24, no. 4 (2001): 17–19.

⁶⁵ See Cecil Adkins, 'The German Oboe in the Eighteenth Century', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 27 (2001): 5–47.

⁶⁶ *Grove Music Online*, s.v. 'Fischer, Johann Christian', by T. Herman Keahey; accessed 9 February 2009.

on the Dresden makers via the Besozzis has been suggested but not proven.⁶⁷ In any case, surely Fischer would have introduced the Dresden-style oboe to English makers, if they had not already been familiar with it. Regardless of whether such an instrument was known in England as German or Italian, starting from the same year as Fischer Italian oboists began to visit London: Giuseppe Giustinelli (1768), Caravoglia (1778, 1793), Gregorio Patria (1783–93), Gaetano Besozzi (1793–98), and Giuseppe Ferlendis (1795).⁶⁸ The instruments they played would no doubt have been of interest to local players and makers, and that could have been the origin of the term. Caravoglia even introduced ‘a New Instrument, called, the Voce Umana’, which was presumably different enough from the local variety of vox humana that it could be claimed as new (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 11 May 1778). And Ferlendis introduced the English horn in 1795: ‘Concerto on the English horn, or Voce Umana (for the First Time in this Country), Mr. Ferlendis—Ferlandis’ (*Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 29 May 1795). A reviewer remarked: ‘A Signor FERLENDIS played a Concerto on what was called the English Horn, but which seemed merely a *bended oboe*.—He played with good expression’ (*True Briton*, 2 June 1795).

The whereabouts of Richard Milhouse Junior for almost thirty years after his father’s death have been a mystery. Adkins wrote: ‘Aside from a 1778 entry in the register of the Baslow Church for payment of a Mr. Milhouse, presumably Richard, for repair of the bassoon, nothing is confirmed until 1805.

For that year Holden’s *London Directory* contains the entry: “Milhouse, Richd. musical instrument maker, 17 Prince’s st. Soho”... The date of Richard’s move to London is unknown, but it may have been within a few years of William’s 1787 departure from Newark...”⁶⁹

An advertisement in *Star*, 12 February 1793, shows that by then Richard had been established in London long enough to remove to new premises, and that he had apparently concentrated on making instruments for the military:

RICHARD MILHOUSE, Musical Instrument Maker, No. 20, Brewer-street, Golden-lane, impressed with a due sense of gratitude for the numerous favours he has already received from his Friends and the Public in general, since his removal from Lambeth, respectfully assures them of his unremitting attention to the perfection of his Instruments, and to the Military ones in particular, viz. Bassoons, Clarinets, Oboes, &c. &c. which have given such universal satisfaction, and hopes for the continuance of their favours. Old instruments carefully repaired.

This advertisement also connects Richard with two listings in London directories. The first, in 1790, mentions ‘Millhouse, H. and R. *musical instrument makers*, Pratt street, Lambeth’.⁷⁰ Richard, aged 31 that year, could easily have had a son, but why would the initial H have been placed before his? Because he had no brothers besides William, it is more likely that H. was actually his mother, Hannah née Hollitt (1729–1793), who had come down to London with

⁶⁷ ‘The earliest surviving hautboys by Grenser and Grundmann closely resemble the instruments of Carla Palanca of Turin, who probably supplied instruments to the Besozzis’. Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes, *The Oboe*, The Yale Musical Instrument Series (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2004), 92. (Antonio Besozzi worked at Dresden 1738–1758 and 1759–74; Carlo joined him his 1755; *Grove Music Online*, s.v. ‘Besozzi’, by Guido Salvetti and T. Hermann Keahey; accessed 9 February 2009.) Cecil Adkins’ study of oboe bores, on the other hand, brings out the differences between the wall-thicknesses and bore dimensions of Palanca oboes and those from Dresden and Leipzig; and he finds ‘a striking likeness ... between the oboes of Palanca and the early instruments (c1760) of Johann August Crone (1727–1804) of Leipzig’. Review of Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe: A History of the Hautboy 1640–1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) in *Music & Letters* 84, no. 2 (2003): 280–83.

⁶⁸ ‘A Concerto on the Hautboy by Signor Giustinelli’ (*Public Advertiser*, 4 February 1768); *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* 6 (1978), s.v., ‘Giustinelli, Giuseppe’; ‘Concerto Bassoon, Signor Caravoglia’ (*Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 9 April 1778; Fischer played an oboe concerto in the same concert); ‘Concerto ... on the Hautboy Signor Patria’ (*Parker’s General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer*, 20 February 1783); *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* 11 (1987), s.v. ‘Patria, Gregorio’; Concert for the benefit of Besozzi included, ‘Concertante for Two Hautboys, Signor Besozzi and Signor Caravoglia’ (*Morning Chronicle*, 27 May); Doane, *A Musical Directory*, 7: ‘Beozzi, Signor, Oboe, Ope.—No. 13, Poland-Street’; *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* 2 (1973), s.v., ‘Besozzi, Gaetano’; ‘Concerto, Hautboi—Mr. Ferlendis, (from Venice, being his first performance in this country), Ferlendis’ (*Morning Chronicle*, 27 April 1795).

⁶⁹ Adkins, ‘William Milhouse’, 50, 52.

⁷⁰ *Wakefield’s Merchant and Tradesman’s General Directory ... for the Year 1790*, 220. William is also listed as ‘Millhouse, Wm. *german flute, clarinet, hautboy and bassoon maker*, 100, Wardour str. Soho’.

him. She died in Newark on 12 December 1793.⁷¹ A possible scenario is that she became seriously ill about a year before and moved back to Newark to be cared for by her daughters. That would then have been the occasion for Richard to remove from Lambeth to Westminster. Doane's *Musical Directory* (1794) seems to have a garbled and outdated entry: 'Milhouse, H. & Sons, *Instrument-Makers.—Pratt Street, Lambeth*'.⁷² Richard is found in Holden's directory at the Soho address 1805–1808, then cannot be traced again until he turns up in a directory of 1822 in Newark.⁷³

The information in the newly discovered advertisements suggests the following scenario.⁷⁴ The instruments in Adkins' groups 1 and 2 are marked 'MILHOUSE / NEWARK', with the exception of one marked merely 'MILHOUSE'. Therefore Richard and William may have initially shared the 'MILHOUSE / NEWARK' mark, which originated with their father. The existence of 'W. MILHOUSE / NEWARK' on the vox humana suggests that already in Newark William felt the need to differentiate himself from Richard, who may therefore have set up an independent workshop there. Did Richard (and Hannah?) and William remove to London together or independently? In any case, groups 3–5 (with one exception in 3) and groups 7–8 have W. in the mark and are clearly associated with William. The exception in group 3 may have been a mark that William used before his brother arrived. Of the seventy-nine surviving woodwind instruments with W. in the mark catalogued by Young, twenty-two lack a street address, including the oboe with the long c# key mentioned in the 1791 advertisement; fifty-seven have the 337 Oxford Street address (from 1797).⁷⁵ This information correlates with Adkins'

oboe groups: groups 3–4 without street address; one in group 5 without, three with; groups 7–8 with. The almost identical oboes in group 6a (marked 'MILHOUSE / LONDON') and 6b ('MILHOUSE / NEWARK') probably belonged to Richard: in London and after his return to Newark.⁷⁶ In 1822, William's son Richard (b. 1796) joined him to form W. Milhouse & Son; but this change is not reflected in the surviving marks, and by 1836 Richard III was described as 'French Horn-, Bugle-, Trumpet maker' at the same address.⁷⁷

George Brown (fl. 1747–66)

An advertisement reproduced by both Philip Bate and Brian Boydell found George Brown established as an instrument maker on 12 January 1748, 'dwelling at Mr Hyens's, Cutler in Crane-lane, Dublin'.⁷⁸ Brown reported that 'he has been for this considerable Time past a successful Practitioner in his Art, and has wrought' (presumably made instruments) 'for the most eminent Masters in his Travels through Germany, Holland, Flanders and England'. Besides immodestly claiming to have brought German flutes 'to that Degree of Perfection, that the most Knowing in that Art can find no Defect in them', he advertised 'a new Machine of his own Invention' by which 'Gentlemen may with the greatest Facility sound all the Notes of the said Instrument, from the highest to the lowest'. Finally, he sold 'excellent German Cane Flutes', 'for the Accommodation of those Gentlemen that would recreate themselves abroad'. The advertisement is embellished with a woodcut of a gentleman playing a (regular) flute.

This is the earliest advertisement for such flute walking sticks, which were replacing the recorder kind. *'Een Hobois en een dwars Fluyt aan een stuk,*

⁷¹ *Gentleman's Magazine* 63, no. 6 (December 1793), 1156: under 'Obituary of considerable Persons.... Aged 65, Mrs Millhouse of Newark'.

⁷² J. Doane, *A Musical Directory for the Year 1794* (London: editor), 45. Again, William is listed separately: 'Milhouse, William, *Instrument Maker.—No. 100, Wardour-Street, Soho*'.

⁷³ Adkins, 'William Milhouse', 80.

⁷⁴ This paragraph should be contrasted with Adkins' Figure 23, p. 70, which assigns the groups as follows: 1 (Richard Senior), 2 (Richard Junior and William), 3–4 (William), 5 (William and his son Richard), 6a (William), 6b (Richard Junior), 7 (William), 8 (William and his son Richard).

⁷⁵ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 159–65.

⁷⁶ Waterhouse already speculated that 'MILHOUSE / LONDON' belonged to Richard.

⁷⁷ Adkins, 'William Milhouse', 82.

⁷⁸ Advertisement, *Dublin Courant*, 12 January 1748; reproduced in Philip Bate, *The Flute: A Study of its History, Development and Construction* (London: Ernest Benn, 1969), plate 4C; Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760* (Blackrock, Co. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988), 113. In his index (p. 260), Boydell also lists a Joseph Brown in partnership with George, but such a person is not mentioned in this advertisement. John Teahan, 'A List of Irish Instrument Makers', *GSJ* 16 (1963): 28, lists George as 'Musical Instrument Maker, Dublin, Crane Lane, 1747' and Joseph as 'German Flute and German Cane Flute Maker, Dublin, Crane Lane, 1748'. It is likely that both references are really to George.

die kan dienen tot een Wandelstock (An oboe and a flute in one piece, which can serve as a walking stick) was auctioned in The Hague in 1754.⁷⁹

It seems likely that Brown's 'machine' was a detachable mouthpiece for focusing the sound of the flute, as possibly mentioned in American advertisements as early as 1737 and made more explicit in 1759 and 1763:

23 April 1737, *South Carolina Gazette* (Timothy), Charleston

Lately imported and to be sold by Watson and McKenzie, at their store on the Bay, opposite to Elliot's bridge, viz. ... German flutes with mouth-pieces and books for learners...

27 August 1759, *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*
To be disposed of, by a gentleman who is to leave the Province soon, and lodges at the Widow Darcey's, opposite to William Walton's, Esq;... a German flute mouth-piece for blowing it...

15 December 1763, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia
Rivington and Brown, At the Corner of Market and Front streets, have imported for Sale in the last Vessels from London, A Very elegant Collection of Musick, musical Instruments, &c. consisting of ... German Flutes, Fifes, &c. from the first Artists in London and of various Prices... Mouth pieces that render the blowing of the German Flute remarkably easy...

A school teacher named Robert Coe even claimed in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 26 March 1754, that he was the inventor of such a device:

... to teach on that agreeable instrument the German flute, by an easy method; as some gentlemen are afraid to undertake it by reason of its taking more wind than they think they can well spare, the subscriber has invented a mouth-piece, made either of tin or silver, and does not in the least alter the tone of the flute, but does the same as if blown by the nicest lip.

The London music publisher Robert Bremner listed for sale around 1765: 'French Horn Mouth Pieces /

German Flute ditto'.⁸⁰ Ardal Powell comments that such mouthpieces were: 'usually metal or metal-and-ivory devices that clip onto the head joint. They sometimes show up at auctions, but buyers (and museums) often take them off and put them aside as they are not considered part of the "work"'.⁸¹

A slightly earlier advertisement from 17 November 1747 in *George Faulkner the Dublin Journal* gives a more likely spelling of the name of Brown's landlord: 'Mr. Hyne's', but likewise mentions the maker's skill with flutes and the 'new Machine of his own Contrivance'. In addition, it lists all the other instruments Brown makes: 'common Flutes, Walking Kane German Flutes and Hautboys'.

Five years after his Dublin advertisements, Brown turned up in London, adding bassoons to the instruments he made:

12 February 1753, *Daily Advertiser*

GEORGE BROWN, Musical Instrument Maker, lately arrived from Abroad, At Mr. Harvey's, Cheesemonger, the corner of Church Lane, facing Villars St. Strand, makes all sorts of Wind Musical Instruments in the greatest Perfection, fine and pleasant toned. To encourage Gentlemen to use his instruments he has likewise invented a new fashioned machine to fill the German Flute in every note from the lowest to the highest, whereby Gentlemen will find it agreeable to make use of this machine, the like has not been performed by any other maker but himself in England. He likewise makes Hautboys, Bassoons and common Flutes in great Perfection. Gentlemen who plan to honour him with their commands may be sure of being well us'd.⁸²

Over the next few years, Brown made trips to Oxford to sell his instruments, adding the clarinet to his instrumentarium. Again he appended the woodcut of the flautist to his advertisement:

30 November 1754, *Jackson's Oxford Journal*

George Brown, Wind Musical Instrument Maker, lately arrived from London, at the Smith's the Harp and Crown in Old Butcher Row Oxford. MAKES all Sorts of Wind Musical Instruments in the greatest

⁷⁹ Gemeente-archief 's-Gravenhage, No. 100, fiches 172–173; Verloop, *Het Muziekinstrument op de Boekenveiling, 1623–1775*, 21.

⁸⁰ Printed at the end of *The Compleat Tutor for the Flute*; see Eric Halfpenny, 'An Eighteenth-Century Trade List of Musical Instruments', *GSJ* 17 (1964): 100.

⁸¹ Ardal Powell, e-mail message to the author, 26 April 2006.

⁸² The two advertisements from *Jackson's Oxford Journal* cited in this article were kindly transcribed and conveyed by Maurice Byrne.

Perfection, true and pleasant toned. To encourage Gentlemen to use his Instruments he has likewise invented a New-fashioned Machine to fill the German Flute in every Note, from the lowest to the highest; the like has not been performed by any Maker but himself in England. He likewise makes Hautboys, Bassoons, Clarnets and Common Flutes, to great Perfection, especially a good Concert Common Flute, which is the Foundation of all Instruments. N.B. His stay will be only one week.⁸³

Brown was probably the first maker in England to advertise the clarinet: certainly well before Colquhoun (1765), Mason (1765), and Muræus (1766) (see below). That there was an amateur market for the instrument as early as 1748 is shown by advertisements from a Mr. Hart, who taught the 'clarnnet' or 'clarannet' in addition to the violin, flute, recorder, horn 'or any other instrument' (*General Advertiser*, 23 November and 3 December). The earliest surviving English clarinet is probably one by Miller dated 1770 (see below). Gedney, the Schucharts, and Stanesby Junior all have somewhat doubtful surviving instruments attributed to them.

A 'concert common flute' was presumably a high-quality recorder. Brown's idea about its fundamental nature appears to be unique for the eighteenth century, but it became commonplace among music educators of the twentieth century and remains so today. Alas, these educators have not been as concerned about quality as Brown was.

Curiously, Brown failed to mention the flute by name in his next Oxford advertisement, although it was still decorated with the flautist woodcut.

27 March 1757, *Jackson's Oxford Journal*

George Brown, Wind Musical Instrument Maker from London, At David M'Lean's at the Star and Garter in the Corn Market in Oxford. Makes all sorts of Wind Musical Instruments in the greatest perfection, fine and pleasant toned. He has now with him great Choice of Bassoons, Hautboys and common Flutes in great Perfection. Whoever deals with him may be sure of being well serv'd. His stay at Oxford will be only one week.

Four years later, Brown had 'removed into Exeter-Street in the Strand, at the Sign of the Flute'. Perhaps he had finally been able to set up his own workshop. An advertisement in the *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer*, 1 October 1761, includes the same woodcut as before. Brown had again expanded the instruments he made to include fifes, and he mentioned reeds for the first time: 'all Sorts of German and Common Flutes, Clarinetts and Fifes, Hautboys and Basoons; Reeds for Hautboys and Bassoons'. He stretched the meaning of 'new' by re-advertising his 'new invented Machine for the German Flute, for the Use of those Gentlemen and Ladies that are not capable of filling it, which will put it in good Perfection for every Note, even from the lowest to the highest'.

'A bassoon by Brown' auctioned by Prestage in April 1760 is more likely to have been made by George Brown than the John Brown, musical instrument maker and dealer, whose trade card from c1743 survives.⁸⁴ The same is true of the flute in the Dayton Miller collection (1269) marked 'BROWN / (star)' (reproduced by Waterhouse). Powell describes it as 'a solid ivory flute of early proportions with the reverse headjoint socket typical of Stanesby ... around the mid-1720s'.⁸⁵

A remarkable twist in Brown's story now involves him with that of our next maker, John Mason...

John Mason (fl. 1754–78) and Henry Colquhoun (d. 1791)

Mason has previously been known as the maker who advertised in 1756 that he had invented the C-foot for the flute, a claim that was refuted by both Caleb Gedney and Charles Schuchart.⁸⁶ Byrne also noted him as 'the maker of the flageolets owned by Granville Sharp, now at Hardwicke Court, and a few other instruments', and a rate payer in King Street, Westminster, 1754–56. (Sharp holds a pair of flageolets in his right hand in the celebrated portrait of the Sharp family, painted by Johann Zoffany, 1779–81.) According to Waterhouse, besides those two flageolets (now in the Bate Collection, Oxford), a flute in the Dayton Miller Collection (1268) and an oboe in the Buckinghamshire County Museum,

⁸³ A similar advertisement in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 10 May 1755, without the last sentence.

⁸⁴ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 46. No such advertisement is in the Burney Collection, although it may have been the same sale as: 'To be SOLD by AUCTION, By Mr. PRESTAGE, At the End of Savile Row, near Conduit-street, the latter End of this Month, A Curious Collection of Coins and Medals in Gold, Silver and Brass, belonging to a Gentleman deceased; likewise several Pieces of Music in MS, &c. also two fine toned Harpsichords, several large and small Basses, Violins, Flutes, &c.' (*Public Advertiser*, 7 April 1760).

⁸⁵ Ardal Powell, e-mail message to the author, 24 January 2009.

⁸⁶ Maurice Byrne, 'Schuchart and the Extended Foot-Joint', *GSJ* 18 (1965): 7.

Aylesbury have survived.⁸⁷ Powell describes the flute as 'a nice Stanesby [Junior] type instrument'.⁸⁸

The newly discovered advertisements reveal a great deal more about Mason. In *Public Advertiser*, 2 February 1760, now removed to the Corner of Exeter Court, near Exeter Exchange in the Strand, he announced that he:

has, by long Practice and great Expence, found out a new Method of making German Flutes, to exceed in Tune any yet made, both with Regard to the Sweetness and Body of Tone, and are much better for Concerts than those that have that small Paper Tone. Gentlemen and others may be satisfied of the above Assertion, by calling at my House; they are marked with three Lions Rampant under my Name; the lowest Price is one Guinea unmounted; a reasonable Profit will be allowed to Merchants and wholesale Dealers.

Only a week later, on 9 February 1760 in the same newspaper, Mason made another claim about the flute:

THE German Flute being an Instrument that is difficult to make in Tune, and blow with a little Wind, has discouraged many Gentlemen from endeavouring to obtain a Proficiency on it; my chief Study has been to teach and make the Instrument for many Years, and flatter myself I have at last hit upon an Invention which entirely removes all those Obstacles. As I serve no Shops, and consequently no Benefit can accrue to them, I make no doubt but they will depreciate as far as possible the Merit of it. Any Gentleman may satisfy himself with the Truth of these Assertions, by calling at my House, whether they buy or not. It has been approved of by the greatest Masters, and the Demand I have had for them, obliges me to express my grateful Acknowledgments for the past, as well as the Obligations I shall be under to my future Customers...

This invention was presumably the same as that already advertised by Brown in 1747 (see above); perhaps Mason encountered it when Brown removed to London.

Mason evidently thought he was onto a good thing, for only two months later, on 21 April 1760 in the same newspaper, he published a further advertisement, describing even more graphically the experience of gentlemen with cheap flutes and talking up his own solution. He had also managed to place his instruments in five London music shops,

and even one in Manchester:

MASON, Maker and Teacher of the German Flute ... from due Reflection and Experience begs Leave to say, big Cheeks, red Looks, and distorted Eyes, are a demonstrative Proof that the unskilful and laborious Puffing of a bad Instrument is a Violence upon Nature, whose Effects are very obvious to Gentlemen of good Understanding.

Mr. Mason, who made it his chief Study all his Life time, being both the Maker and Teacher of this delightful Organ, has fabricated a German Flute upon much more curious and rational Principles, which may be breathed with incredible Ease, Address, and Facility, being occasionally of a deep and solemn, or loud, clear and charming Tone, expressing like the human Voice, and much in Esteem with the best Musicians: He teaches upon very moderate Terms, and raises the Reputation of all Shopkeepers and other Customers, who buy of him.

N.B. To be had at Mr. Duke's Music Shop, in Holborn; Mr. Oswald's Music Shop, in St. Martin's Church-Yard; Mr. Rutherford's Music Shop, St. Martin's Court; Mr. Newton's Music Shop, Maiden-Lane; Mr. Lewer's, Moorfields; and Mess. Hall and Bury, at Manchester. Price One Guinea.

Three months after that, on 5 July 1760 in the same newspaper, he published yet another variation on his theme:

To avoid the awkward Puffing of a bad Instrument, and the Consequences of unskilful and difficult Winding. MR. MASON, whose whole Time and Study have been engaged in the FLUTE, being both the Maker and Teacher of this delightful ORGAN, has fabricated a German Flute upon much more curious and rational Principles, which may be breathed with incredible Ease, Address, and Facility, being occasionally of a deep and solemn, or loud, clear, and charming Tone, expiring like the Human Voice, and much in Esteem with the ablest Musicians. To prevent any Mistakes, they are marked by J. MASON, London, in full Length, and three Lions Rampant, Price One Guinea...

A similar advertisement a year later, in the same newspaper, 20 June 1761, adds: 'Fifes and Fife Cases compleated in the neatest and truest Manner, for the Army, or any Gentleman's Use; all marked with three Lions Rampant'. On 23 December 1762, again in the same newspaper, much the same advertisement adds

⁸⁷ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 255.

⁸⁸ Ardal Powell, e-mail message to the author, 19 January 2009.

for the first time that his music shop is 'at the Sign of the Violin, German Flute and Hautboy'. In a further advertisement of 3 December 1763 in *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, which contained the unintentionally memorable phrase that his flutes are 'expiring like the Human Voice', Mason appended the note: 'Gentlemen, please to beware of Counterfeits, for there are Numbers of them about'.

On 26 January 1765 in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Mason took time off from promoting his flutes to respond to an advertisement by Henry Colquhoun. At the same time, it tells us which other instruments he made:

JOHN MASON, Wind Musical Instrument-Maker, assures the Public, he has been Fife-maker to his Majesty's three Regiments of Guards these 18 Years: His Musical Knowledge and Capacity in teaching, and repeated Experiments and Skill in all sorts of Wind Instruments, are Advantages which the Ostentation of no Novice of a few Months Exercise in this Business can assume or pretend to. He makes the most curious German and Common Flutes, Fifes, Hautboys, Clarinets, Bassoons, Vox Humanes, &c. his Work being well known, and used through all Parts of his Majesty's Dominions Abroad and at Home.⁸⁹

In an advertisement published in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 20 February 1765, which I take to be a repeat of one from a month or so earlier, not in the Burney Collection, Colquhoun claimed the same relationship with the Guards:

To the ARMY in General. HENRY COLQUHOUN, Clarinet and Fife Maker, (and by Authority Fife Maker to his Majesty's Three Regiments of Foot Guards, &c.) whose Fifes are on a new Construction, makes and sells all Kinds of Wind Instruments, as Bassoons, Hautboys, German and Common Flutes, &c. &c. for Exportation or Home Consumption... Fife Cases and Carriages, &c. &c.

No further advertisements are in the Burney Collection from Colquhoun, who is probably the

man mentioned in the following:

22 July 1791, *Lloyd's Evening Post*

DIED. On the 3d inst. in Trinity-street, Dublin, Mr. Henry Colquhoun, deemed the best flute-maker in Ireland.⁹⁰

His instruments did find their way to the American colonies, as the following advertisement appeared in *Pennsylvania Ledger*, Philadelphia, 21 January 1778:

Lost, on Monday last, the head-piece of a Voice German flute, stained brown, the maker's name Colquhon. Whoever has found the same, and will return it to the printer, shall be handsomely rewarded.

The term voice German flute was used in American advertisements of the second half of the eighteenth century to refer to some kind of low flute.⁹¹ An alto flute survives marked 'Colquhoun, Dublin', which Waterhouse takes to have been made by George Colquhoun (probably Henry's son), but it could just as easily have been made by Henry.⁹²

On 16 July 1765, in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Mason returned to the flute, adding some important details and the invention of a new size; he had also removed again:

To the CURIOUS. THE German Flute, of a new improvement in the inside. They are adapted for young beginners, and of great ease to the masters; by John Mason, wind musical instrument maker, and teacher of that delightful instrument, which may be sounded with incredible ease, being of a fine, loud, clear, solemn tone, much resembling the human voice, and is greatly esteemed by the best judges; the exact concert pitch. Price one guinea plain. N.B. Likewise, with a great deal of study, I have finished a fine bass German flute, to answer in concert with a first and second concert German flute; which, by all I can learn, there never was any thing of this kind finished before. To be had any my shop in Maiden-lane, next door to a cutler's shop.

The 'new improvement on the inside' suggests that

⁸⁹ Repeated 8 February 1765.

⁹⁰ The George Colquhoun listed as 'Musical Instrument Maker' at 5 Trinity Street, Dublin, 1793–1810, was presumably Henry's son. The William Colquhoun, 'Musical Instrument Maker' in Cork, 1775, may also have been a relative. Teahan, 'A List of Irish Instrument Makers', 28.

⁹¹ See David Lasocki, 'Lessons from Inventories and Sales of Flutes and Recorders, 1650–1800', in *Flötenmusik in Geschichte und Aufführungspraxis von 1650 bis 1850: XXXIV. Wissenschaftliche Arbeitstagung Michaelstein, 5. bis 7. Mai 2006*, herausgegeben von Ute Omonsky und Boje E. Hans Schmuhl/Stiftung Kloster Michaelstein, Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte, Band 73 (Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 2009), 299–330.

⁹² Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 69.

he had modified the bore of the flute. The reference to 'exact concert pitch' may mean that other makers of cheap instruments had not been concerned about the pitch-standard of their instruments. Mason does not mention the pitch-relationship of his 'bass' flute to the standard one. A tenor flute in F by Gedney has survived.⁹³

A month later, in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 23 August 1765, Mason revised this advertisement, coming up with yet more adjectives to describe his flutes and giving the prices of both sizes:

TO the CURIOUS in MUSICK. THE German flute, of a new construction, greatly improved in the justness and fluency of the tone, much conducive to the ease of the master in teaching, and to the encouragement of the scholar in learning. It is not only filled with greater ease and pleasure than that instrument usually is, but produces a strong, mellow, clear, and sonorous tone, much resembling the human voice. Likewise the Bass German flute, of an invention entirely new, and never yet executed before in Europe, intended to accompany German flutes and other instruments in concert. Both these instruments are of exact concert pitch, and greatly esteemed by the best judges, and may be had at the following prices: The first at one guinea, plain; and the bass, three guineas; at my musick-shop, the sign of the German Flute, Violin, and Hautboy, in Maiden-lane, Covent-Garden. JOHN MASON, wind-musical-instrument-maker.⁹⁴

These prices seem to be the first ever given in an advertisement by an English woodwind maker. They are towards the low end of the scale, given that rewards of half a guinea or a guinea were generally offered for the return of lost or stolen flutes.⁹⁵

Here is where George Brown joins the story. In *Daily Advertiser*, 1 January 1766, he published the following advertisement. This time it is not accompanied by the woodcut, but the references to the device for blowing the flute more easily and the reed-making establish that it is the same man, despite the change in spelling:

GEORGE BROWNE, Wind Musical Instrument-Maker, in Half Paved Court, Salisbury-Court, Fleet-Street, London, makes and sells all Sorts of Wind Musical Instruments, and has, by his great Study and Pains, invented and brought to Perfection an additional Instrument for blowing the German-Flute, by the Use of which not only young Learners can, upon their first Attempt, fill the Flute with Ease, but Gentlemen and Ladies of the most delicate Constitution may play upon it without the least Difficulty, far more pleasant and exquisitely sweeter in Tone than can be performed with the naked Mouth. Has a peculiar Method likewise, of his own Invention, of making Reeds for Hautboys and Bassoons, which are esteemed preferable to other Reeds. He assures the Publick that he can make all Kind of Wind Musical Instruments in general fit for Concerts, or private Entertainment, as well as the most able Hands in the Trade, and has been esteemed by great Judges to be a complete Master of his Trade, having practised that Art in Germany (his native Country) and in England, for near 50 Years past. That he imposes no bad Instruments on the Public, like many who are either bad Workmen, or have been brought up only common turners; neither is his Advertisement a fallacious Puff, like those who falsely give out they have a Bass German Flute of a new Invention, never before executed, when at the same Time I have made the like near 40 Years before in my own Country in the best Perfection, for the use of his Prussian Majesty's Subjects; can also make Fifes of a more melodious Sound than those generally used in the Guards, at the [two words illegible] as his Majesty pays for those; In short, he acquaints the Public that he is so far Master of his Business as to excel all others in Europe.⁹⁶

Brown's country of origin and his claimed length of career come as a surprise for someone we have followed from Dublin (1747–48) to London (1753–61). So far researchers have found no trace of a maker called Georg Braun in Germany in the first half of the eighteenth century (Johan Georg Braun stems from much later, c1790–1833). The only

⁹³ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 85.

⁹⁴ Repeated 24 August, 24 December 1765; 3, 5 January 1766.

⁹⁵ See *Daily Courant*, 13 November 1723 (lost, half a guinea reward); *Daily Courant*, 4 March 1727 (garnished with ivory in case, lost, one guinea); *London Daily Post and General Advertiser*, 11 August 1739 (Stanesby Junior, six pieces, lost, one guinea); *Public Advertiser*, 6 February 1769 (Cahusac, two keys, stolen, half a guinea); *Public Advertiser*, 21 April 1772 (one key; lost, six shillings); *Public Advertiser*, 18 September 1772 (Schuchart Junior, one key, stolen, half a guinea); *Public Advertiser*, 18 November 1774 (flute d'amour?, stolen, one guinea); *Daily Advertiser*, 22 August 1774 (Gedney, lost, half a guinea); *Daily Advertiser*, 20 December 1782 (lost, one guinea).

⁹⁶ In the Library of Congress, not the Burney Collection.

known Berlin or Potsdam maker of the period is Johann Heitz (*c.*1702–1737), whose career is well documented, although a flute by one Rolander is dated 1747.⁹⁷ It may be relevant that a one-keyed flute marked ‘G. A. Browne, London’ used to be in Berlin (Musikinstrumenten-Museum, Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, 472).⁹⁸

A date ‘near’ to 1726, as Brown claims, would be early for a genuine bass flute, as opposed to an alto or a tenor. Such instruments, with U-shaped heads, have survived by two Continental makers working in the first half of the eighteenth century: Giovanni Maria Anciuti (one key, dated 1739) and Charles Bizet (five keys, so presumably at least mid-century).⁹⁹ Other Continental makers might just have been producing bass flutes in the 1760s: instruments survive by Jan Barend Beuker (three keys and a straight head) and Thomas Lot (five keys).¹⁰⁰

On 21 January 1766 in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, Mason, in high dudgeon, answered Brown:

JOHN MASON, wind musical instrument maker, and teacher of all instruments he makes, at the Violin and German Flute, in Maiden-lane, Covent-Garden. Whereas an advertisement has been published in the Daily Advertiser of January 1, 1766, against me John Mason; to satisfy that advertiser, Mr. Mason has the approbation of the most eminent musicians, and has gained the admiration of the town for his great improvements on the German flute; but that babbling advertiser, pretending a prior skill in that instrument, modestly presumes to excel all Europe. Mr. Mason, defying the insignificance of bragging, botching [sic], and boasting, challenges the advertiser to produce the excellent bass he pretends to, and let him stand by the merits of his work; and his piece of art, his reeds, and ridiculous fluff, beyond the naked mouth, must consequently be very amusing to ignorant people. Mr. Mason assures the insignificant advertiser, he labours in vain to excel those fifes, he has these many years had the honour of making for his Majesty’s army, or any other, and that he despises his boasting as much as the squalling of a pair of bagpipes.

Mason was quiet for seven years, until *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 17 April 1773. Having removed again, he returned to advertise yet another new instrument, plug his ‘new’ bass flute, and warn against counterfeits:

To all Admirers of MUSIC. JOHN MASON, the original Fife-maker to his Majesty’s forces for upwards of twenty years, takes this opportunity of informing gentlemen of the army, navy, and other, that they may be surprised with the best of fifes of all pitches and sizes; and fife cases; clarinets, hautboys, and bassoons. I have also finished a Vauxhumana, on constructions entirely new, and never made before by any other person; this instrument has a very noble and harmonious tone, and is suitable for the army and navy, or to accompany french horns, clarinets, and hautboys in concert, the price Six Guineas per pair. Likewise may be had, my new-invented Bass German Flute; this instrument may be sounded with the same ease and pleasure as the common German Flute, to prevent trouble, the price is Three Guineas each. Those Instruments are marked ‘J. Mason, London, Inventor’. To be had next door to the Horse-shoe Inn, Goswell street. Beware of counterfeits.

The vox humana, apparently named after the eponymous organ stop, was a tenor oboe in F; the English horn was not introduced until 1795 (see below).

Five years later, in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 10 January 1778, Mason made another claim, this time for the bassoon:

TO ALL ADMIRERS of MUSIC. JOHN MASON, in Glasshouse-yard, Goswell-street, original Fife-maker to his Majesty’s Forces for upwards of twenty years, has by long study, and at great expence, compleated a number of Bassoons, on an entire new construction, which will produce double the body of tone, much nearer in tune, capable of great delicacy of expression, and may be played on with greater ease than any bassoon made in the common stile. Likewise may be

⁹⁷ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 333, gives ‘[Puttick and Simpson 1896]’ as the source of the information about Rolander. But James Coover, *Music at Auction: Puttick and Simpson* (of London), 1794–1971, Detroit Studies in Music Bibliography, 60 (Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 1988), 311–15, has no such information, unless it was covered by the generic descriptions ‘antique instruments’ (24 March) or ‘wood wind instruments’ (28 April).

⁹⁸ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 47; Francesco Carreras and Cinzia Meroni, ‘Giovanni Maria Anciuti: a Craftsman at Work in Milan and Venice,’ *Recercare* 20/1–2 (2008): 181–215.

⁹⁹ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 6, 22.

¹⁰⁰ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 19, 151; Bouterse, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments and their Makers*, 381–82. Another bass flute by Beuker with four keys and a U-shaped head is dated 1791. Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 31, lists two makers called Jan Barend Beuker; but Bouterse, 65–66, shows that there was only one

had my German Flutes on the same constructions.— N.B. Mr. Mason being a performer on the above-mentioned instruments, and judging they may be injured in the eyes of the public, by ill-designing persons, for their own interest, is ready at any time to convince those gentlemen who chuse to apply to him of the truth of what he has asserted.

Mason's final advertisement, in *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 4 December 1778, repeated the claim about the bassoon and revealed that he also played the clarinet and oboe:

To the ARMY in General. JOHN MASON, original FIFE and Fie Case Maker to the Army for near Thirty years, and now to the Office of Ordnance, takes the liberty to acquaint those Gentlemen that he is the first man that has brought the Fife to perfection it is now at, with a key on them to play with clarinets.

Likewise may be had his New-invented BASSOONS, that are more useful to the army, as they are double the body of sound, and finely in tune.

Likewise Clarinets and Hautboys to the greatest perfection (he being a player on them).

He having been much injured by some of the Fife-teachers, who have introduced Fifes of an inferior nature to his, begs leave to declare he is now determined to teach Bands of Music with the greatest correctness and expedition; at his house in Old Mitre-yard, Goswell-street, near the Charter house Wall.

For a reference to flutes by Mason being imported into the American colonies in 1762, see below.

The Schucharts and Henry (Hindrick) John Muræus (fl. 1757–76)

Flutes made by the Schucharts, father and son, were popular enough to have been noted in advertisements relating to sales or thefts of property up to the end of the eighteenth century. It was previously known from the baptism of one of his children that John Just Schuchart had come from Germany and settled in the parish of St Mary le Strand by 17 February

1721.¹⁰¹ Not coincidentally, Bressan lived in the same parish, and Byrne suggested plausibly that Schuchart was working for him.¹⁰² An advertisement in *Daily Courant*, 7 September 1720, now pushes back Schuchart's arrival a little earlier:

Left on the 23d of August last. (a Flute Cane with an Ivory Head, with two Holes in it, joining together with a silver Ferril at Top and Bottom, strung with a black Ribbon, made by Scuchart) in a Coach, or in the Stage-box at Drury-Lane Playhouse. If any person will bring the said Cane to Baker's Coffee-house in Exchange-Alley, shall have half a Guinea Reward.

The last years of John Just and the career of his son Charles have been the subject of some confusion, so it is worth rehearsing the facts as previously known. According to the rate books, John Just had several addresses in London: Coventry Court, off the Haymarket (1732–38); Panton Street (1738–48); Sherwood Street, in St James's parish (1748–56); and Angel Court, Windmill Street, same parish (1756–58).¹⁰³ Byrne took the last reference as evidence that John Just died in 1758.¹⁰⁴ Byrne also discovered the Will of 'John Just Schuchart, flute-maker of St James', made on 18 February 1757, and proved on 17 September 1759.¹⁰⁵ In it, he left his property to his daughter, Sarah Johnston, who was a widow, but as Byrne commented, 'not his wife, who had then already died, nor Charles, who presumably had already inherited his father's tools and business'.¹⁰⁶

When Charles was buried at St Paul, Covent Garden, on 17 December 1765, the burial account gave his age as forty-five.¹⁰⁷ If that account is accurate, he would therefore have been born in 1720, or late 1719.¹⁰⁸ The new information about his father makes it more likely that Charles was born in London rather than Germany.

On 25 August 1751, when Charles married at St Martin-in-the-Fields, he was described as being of that parish.¹⁰⁹ Presumably, therefore, he had already left his father's house. He began paying rates on Chandos Street, St Martin-in-the-Fields,

maker, born around 1741.

¹⁰¹ Byrne, 'Pierre Jaillard, Peter Bressan', 10.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰³ Byrne, 'Schuchart', 7, 9–10.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 10.

¹⁰⁵ Byrne, 'Church Band', 94.

¹⁰⁶ Byrne, 'Schuchart', 10; 'Church Band', 94.

¹⁰⁷ Byrne, 'Schuchart', 93–94.

¹⁰⁸ Byrne's statement that Charles 'was thus born in 1720' is rightly corrected to '1719/20' in his article in *Grove*

at Christmas 1754. The record of the burial of Ann Schuchart, presumably his daughter, aged four years, nine months, at St Paul, Covent Garden on 6 June 1754, noted that she was of Chandos Street (a street that crossed the boundary between the two parishes).¹¹⁰ If Ann had truly been four years, nine months when she died, she would have been born around September 1749, some two years before Charles married. The birth of a child out of wedlock could have been the cause of a rift between Charles and his father. (A relevant piece of contemporary information: Stanesby Junior made it a condition of Gedney taking over his workshop that Gedney marry the mother of his illegitimate children.¹¹¹)

In 1756, Charles advertised that his 'Music Shop' in Chandos Street, near Covent Garden, had 'The Sign of the Two Flutes and Hautboy'.¹¹² Byrne took Charles' departure for Chandos Street¹¹³ as proof that 'his father at about this time must have retired'. Among the five different surviving Schuchart maker's marks, an important six-keyed flute, the earliest surviving flute of this type, is stamped SCHUCHART / SENIOR, and another flute is reported to be stamped SCHUCHART / JUNIOR. Powell suggests that these stamps come from the period 1753–58 when 'two Schuchart shops were in operation simultaneously'; after John Just's death, the term Junior would have been redundant.¹¹⁴

A man named Muræus has previously been known as the maker of seven surviving woodwind instruments: three flutes, a flute-flageolet, an oboe, a clarinet, and a bassoon.¹¹⁵ A two-keyed flute with an extended foot-joint is marked 'SUCCESSOR / TO / SCH...T' (part illegible).¹¹⁶ Byrne speculated that the obscured name was Schuchart, adding 'it is more likely that Muræus claimed to be successor to the younger Schuchart' (Charles). Powell, however, on the strength of the separation of businesses of the two Schucharts in the period 1753–58, commented: 'Surely it was John Just's business that Muræus took over, on the former's death in 1758'.¹¹⁷

The newly discovered advertisements confirm Powell's ideas and supply some interesting details.

John Just Schuchart died on 16 September 1759, and not in 1758 as previously thought. A notice published in *Public Advertiser*, 20 September 1759, reads:

On Sunday-Night last died Mr. Schuchart, sen. Musical Wind-Instrument-maker, at his House in Brewer-street, Golden-square. And we hear will be succeeded in the Business by his only surviving Son Charles Schuchart, in Chandois-street, Covent-garden.

John Just's address in the notice is different from his last known date from the rate books. As already noted, his Will, made on 18 February 1757, was proved on 17 September 1759, which we can now see was only one day after his death.

On 22 September, Charles published the following brief advertisement in the same newspaper:

CHARLES SCHUCHART, Musical-Wind-Instrument-Maker, at the Two Flutes and Hautboy, in Chandois street, Covent-garden, humbly begs for the Favours of his late Father's former Customers.

This advertisement and the notice of John Just's death confirm the father–son relationship between the two Schucharts. Note that Charles himself did not claim to be his father's successor.

On 27 September, five days after Charles' advertisement, Muræus published his own in a different newspaper, *Westminster Evening Post or London Intelligencer*:

MR. MURÆUS begs Leave to acquaint the Quality, Gentry, and Others, that his deceas'd Father-in-Law, Mr. Schuchardt, sen. Flute-maker, at the Bassoon, two Flutes, and Hautboy, in Brewer-Street, having left him in Possession of all his Working-Tools, House, and Business; he the said Muraes having carried on the Business for two Years for his late Father-in-Law, on Account of his Illness, and intends to carry it on as usual, and hereby requests the Favour of his late Father's Customers, who will do his utmost Endeavours to please those who favour him with

Music Online, s.v., 'Schuchart, J(ohan) J(ust)'; accessed 6 January 2009.

¹⁰⁹ Byrne, 'Church Band', 93.

¹¹⁰ Byrne, 'Church Band', 93.

¹¹¹ Maurice Byrne, 'Some More on Stanesby Junior', *GJS* 45 (1992): 116.

¹¹² Byrne, 'Schuchart', 7.

¹¹³ Given without further evidence as in 1753 rather than the 1754 of the rate books; corrected to 1754 in *Grove Music Online*.

¹¹⁴ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, 178.

¹¹⁵ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 276; www.baroqueflute.com/database; accessed 19 January 2009.

¹¹⁶ See Maurice Byrne, 'Muræus', *GJS* 38 (1985): 146.

their Commands. Whoever has any Demand on the deceas'd, Mr. Schuchardt, will be pleased to apply to Mr. Muraes, at his House in Brewer-Street aforesaid; or any Person being indebted to him, are desired to pay their respective Debts as soon as possible.

Given that Charles had had his own workshop since at least 1754, the likely scenario is that Muræus had married John Just's widowed daughter between 1757 and 1759, which is why he was not mentioned in the Will. It would certainly make sense that he was responsible for the elder Schuchart's debts. His workshop being in the same street where John Just died confirms that the two men had been living there together. The name of Muræus' shop, the Bassoon, Two Flutes, and Hautboy, is suspiciously close to Charles' Two Flutes and Hautboy. Perhaps John Just had had this sign before the split with his son, who chose his own sign to spite his father.

Muræus is not heard from again until 17 March 1764, when he published the following advertisement in *Public Advertiser*:

MR. MURDUS, Musical Wind Instrument-Maker, Son-in-law and Successor to the late Mr. Schuchardisen, begs Leave to inform the Nobility Gentry, and others, that he is now returned from abroad, and carries on the Business as before, and returns his humble Thanks to all his late worthy Friend and Customers, who were pleased to honour him with their former Commands, and humbly begs the kind Renewal of those past Favours. All Commands will be gratefully acknowledged by their obedient Servant to command. MURDUS. N.B. At the Sign of the Bassoon, Two Flutes and Hautboy, Warwick-street, near Golden-square, five Doors from Silver-street, St. James's.

Clearly, the makers' names had given the newspaper typesetter some trouble. A revised version of the advertisement, correcting his name to MURAEUS and his father-in-law's to SCHUCHART, Senior, was published ten days later. After six months, in the *Public Advertiser*, 6 August 1764, 'MURACUS' advertised that he had removed again: to Oxenden-street near the Tennis-Court near St. James's, Haymarket, using the same Sign.

On 18 April 1766 in *Public Advertiser*, Muræus found it necessary to publish the following advertisement against counterfeiter; it also serves the fortunate purpose of telling us which instruments he made:

MR. MURAEUS, Musical Wind Instrument Maker, Son-in-Law and Successor to the late Mr. Schuchardt, senior, at the Sign of the Bassoon, two Flutes and Hautboy, in John-street, Golden-square, St. James's, begs Leave to inform the Nobility, Gentry, and Public, by particular Desire of many Gentlemen, who have been imposed on with base and counterfeit Instruments in the Name of the late Mr. Schuchardt, Senior; to prevent Counterfeits being imposed on the Public, as I have never disposed of those Instruments which were finished in the Lifetime of my late Fathe[r]-in-Law, and are now to be had of me only, whereas many malicious designing People give out they have served their Apprenticeship, and others who falsely give out they were employed to finish for the late Mr. Schuchardt, Senior, which I declare to be a false and scandalous Invention, designed to injure me, there being no Man living but myself, who ever was taught his Art, having carried on the Business for my late Father in his illness three Years before his Death, having left me his Successor, and possessed me with all his working Implements. Gentlemen, who have bought Instruments since September 1759, for the late Mr. Schuchard's, Senior, may be satisfied if they be Real or Counterfeit, by applying as above, and humbly begs the Favours of his worthy Friends and Customers. I am, Gentlemen, Your most obedient humble Servant to Command, H. I. MURAEUS. Makes and sells Wholesale and Retail, Bassoons, Hautboys, Clarinets, German Flutes and Fifes.

The target of Muræus' complaint may well have been Charles Schuchart, who presumably apprenticed with his father before the split, despite what Muræus said, and after his father's death was using the plain mark SCHUCHART. Another possibility is Thomas Collier, who took over Charles's shop, the Two Flutes and Hautboy, after his death in 1765, and was already living on Chandos Street, and presumably working for Charles, in 1763.¹¹⁸ That actual counterfeit instruments did exist is confirmed by William Waterhouse, who notes of Schuchart: 'a clarinet datable to c1800 and other late [woodwind instruments] are reported, suggesting either the existence of another maker of this name or that the name was used by a competitor'.¹¹⁹

Muræus failed to prosper in the woodwind-making business. He appears in *London Gazette*, 19 July 1774, among a list of persons in gaol for debt who wished to take advantage of *An Act for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors; and for the Relief of Bankrupts*

¹¹⁷ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, 178.

¹¹⁸ Byrne, 'Church Band', 94.

in certain Cases that had recently been passed. The advertisement reveals Muræus' first names: 'Prisoners in His Majesty's Prison of the FLEET. First Notice. Henry John Muræus, late of Cecil-court St. Martin's in the Fields, Instrument-maker...' Second and third notices were published on 23 and 26 July. But he was evidently not released that year, because another 'first notice' appears on 1 June 1776, under a more Germanic version of his first name: 'Hindrick John Muraus, formerly of Cecil-court St. Martin's in the Fields Middlesex, late of Bell-savage-yard London, Musical-instrument-maker'. Second and third notices were published on 4 and 8 June.

Four instruments by the Schucharts were stolen later in the century:

25 October 1770, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*
... TO be SOLD... TWO GERMAN FLUTES, made by old Schugart, one ivory, the other box tipt, and silver key. The two are two guineas. Enquire at No. 14, in Little Titchfield-street, near Oxford-market...

The advertiser presumably saw John Just's maker's mark SCHUCHART / SENIOR.

1 May 1771, *Public Advertiser*

BROKE open last Monday Morning early a House near Queenhithe, and stolen ... a German Flute with a Silver Key, Maker Schuchart... Whoever will apprehend the Person or Persons guilty of the above Burglary, and bring him or them before Sir John Fielding, shall receive Three Guineas Reward on Conviction from the Person robbed. N.B. The Person suspects is a Plaisterer's Labourer, about 5 Feet 6 Inches high, pale Complexion, his own light hair tied behind, in a Soldier's Coat and long Trousers.

18 September 1772, *Public Advertiser*

A GERMAN FLUTE. STOLEN on Thursday last out of a House in Brown-street, Golden Square, a German Flute made of yellow Box tipt, with Ivory, and a Silver Key. It is intirely straight, without any Swelling at the Joints, Maker Schuckhart, Junior. If offered to be pawned or sold, stop it and the Party, and give Notice to Sir John Fielding, and you shall receive Half a Guinea Reward from the Owner. Or if already pawned or sold, the same Reward will be given, on producing it as Matter of Evidence for the Crown.

23 December 1783, *Public Advertiser*

Public Office, Bow-street, Dec. 22, 1783. STOLEN last Night out of a House at Lambeth ... an oblong German Flute, Maker Schuchart... If offer'd to be pawn'd or sold, stop them and the Party, and give Notice to Sir Sampson Wright, at the above Office, and you shall receive Five Guineas Reward from the Owner, on Recovery of the same.

The adjective 'oblong' probably refers to the property noted in the previous advertisement: that the flute had no swellings at the joints.

3 October 1800, *Morning Chronicle*

SALES BY AUCTION... By Mr. WELLS, At his Spacious Rooms, No. 130, Long Acre, THIS DAY... ALL the genuine HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE ... Spinnet, 3 Violins, 3 Flutes by Golding and Schucart, and other valuable effects removed from Bedford-row...

Waterhouse notes the presence of the mark 'Golding London' on a surviving flute, commenting 'Counterfeit for GOULDING',¹²⁰

Instruments by the Schucharts were also exported. In Dublin, William Manwaring, music publisher, instrument seller, and violinist, advertised that had the following in stock, probably all made by John Just:¹²¹

1743: 'Just imported ... Schuchart's best German Flutes, and common Flutes of all Sizes'

17 January 1744: 'Schuchart's choicest German and common Flutes, of all sizes'

29 April 1746: 'Schuchart's German and Common Flutes of all Sizes'

14 November 1747: 'Schukhart's German and Common Flutes of all sizes'

1 April 1749: 'Shuckart's Flutes of all sizes'

1 May 1751: 'Shuckard's Ebony German Flute tipped with ivory & a silver key'

16 October 1753: 'Schuchart's German Flutes'

21 May 1754: 'Shuchard's German Flutes, Hautboys, and small Flutes of all sizes'

These are the earliest advertisements I have found that include the phrase 'of all sizes' in reference to recorders or flutes. The next in chronological order is one by Gedney in *London Evening Post* for

¹¹⁹ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 364.

¹²⁰ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 140.

¹²¹ Boydell, *Dublin Music Calendar*, 64, 94, 96, 107, 112, 127, 151, 183, 186, 194. The advertisements for 29 April 1746

21 November 1754, which mentions 'Travers or German Flutes of all Sizes, English Flutes ditto'. As we have seen, Tans'ur mentioned alto, third flute, fifth flute (descant), sixth flute, and sopranino recorders in 1746/1772. As for what sizes of flutes were available in 1746–54 besides the standard one in D, probably piccolos and flutes d'amour already existed, and the phrase may have also encompassed flutes with a C foot. Two flutes d'amour by Charles Schuchart were sold in Paris in 1759:

Two large flutes from England, called flutes d'amour, brand new, embellished with ivory and made by Schuchart Junior in London. They are of Chinese violet wood and each three English feet long. They are being sold together for 3 louis and separately for 4 francs apiece. Apply to the music shop, rue du Roule, at the Golden Cross, where they have been deposited.¹²²

Manwaring published no further advertisements for instruments after 1754 (and he died in 1763).

The following advertisement that mentions a bassoon by one of the Schucharts appeared in America:

29 September 1757, *Maryland Gazette–Annapolis* (Green)

Ran away from the subscriber, at Stratford, in Westmoreland County, on Sunday the 28th of August, Charles Love, a tall thin man, about sixty years of age; he professes music, dancing, fencing, and plays extremely well on the violin, and all wind instruments; he stole when he went away a very good bassoon, made by Schuchart, which he carried with him, as also a Dutch or German fiddle, with an old hautboy and German flute, which are his own; he rode a small white horse, with a Virginia made saddle, and a coarse blue cloth housing: it is supposed he will make towards Charles-Town in South-Carolina. Whoever apprehends the said Love, and brings him to me, in Stratford, shall have eight pounds reward, if taken in Virginia; nine pounds if taken in Maryland or North-Carolina, and ten pounds if taken any where else on the continent. [signed] Philip Ludwell Lee.

Lee (1727–1775), the owner of Stratford Plantation,

was an ancestor of General Robert E. Lee, who was born at Stratford. Only one bassoon attributed to the Schucharts has survived.¹²³ Love, 'musician from London', advertising in *New York Mercury* (Gaine), 2 July 1753, announced that he was 'teaching gentlemen musick on the following instruments, viz. violin, hautboy, German and common flutes, bassoon, French horn, tenor, and bass violin, if desired', at a school he had set up 'in Mr. Rice's consort room in Broad-Street'. Evidently, Love did not find enough students to make a living in New York and had to move on to Virginia.

Instruments attributed to Schuchart and other London makers are mentioned in further advertisements in America between 1762 and 1769. Given that John Just had died in 1759 and Charles died in 1765, it is just possible that they were all by Charles up to and including 1766, and the 1769 listings are for instruments that Collier was selling off.

25 March 1762, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Philadelphia
Just imported by James Rivington, Bookseller and Stationer, at the Corner of Market and Front streets, (besides a large Quantity of Books and Stationary Wares) the following Articles by the most esteemed Workmen, viz...

German Flutes by Schuckart, Potter, Mason and others, from Seven Pound to Thirty Five Shillings...

Because Mason was charging one guinea for his flutes, and as we shall see, Potter's cheapest flutes were half a guinea and a guinea, we get some idea of how much the mark-up was on English instruments imported into the American colonies:

14 November 1763, *New-York Mercury*

A Fresh Importation by Rivington and Brown, In Hanover-Square, just landed from the Edward, Capt. Davis ... Schuchart's German Flutes, do. Voice Flutes...

31 March 1763, *Pennsylvania Journal*, Philadelphia

Lost a German flute of Schuchart's make, and a pair of silver spurs... Whoever will give information to the printer of this paper where they may be found, shall receive five pistoles reward, or three pistoles on finding either of them, from the printer...

and 14 November 1747, *George Faulkner the Dublin Journal*, are in the Burney Collection.

¹²² 'Deux grandes flûtes traversières d'Angleterre, dites flûtes d'amour, toutes neuves, garnies en ivoire et faites par Schuchart le jeune, à Londres. Elles sont d'un bois violet de la Chine et ont chacune trois pieds d'Angleterre. On les vendra ensemble 3 louis, et séparément 4 francs chacune. S'adresser au magasin de musique, rue du Roule, à la Croix-d'Or, où elles ont été déposées'. Advertisement in *Affiches, annonces, et avis divers*, 17 October 1759, quoted in Eugène de Bricqueville, *Les ventes d'instruments de musique, xviii^e siècle* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1908), 31.

Similar advertisement, 7 April 1763, *Pennsylvania Gazette*

Lost, a new German Flute, made by Schuchart; and a Pair of Silver Spurs, lined with Steel, remarkably long in the Neck and Shank. Whoever will bring them to the New Printing Office, or give Information where they may be found, shall receive Five Pistoles Reward, or Three Pistoles for either of them. N.B. If there is any Name on the Spurs, it is Moore.

1 March 1764, *Pennsylvania Gazette*

Rivington and Brown, At their Store, opposite the London Coffee house, the Corner of Market and Front streets, have imported in the last Vessels from London ... Musical Instruments, as ... Suchaat's, Potter's and Hasse's German Flutes ...

Same date, *Pennsylvania Journal*, 'Sucharts'.

Hasse is a previously unknown maker, whether in London or in Germany (the closest name is that of Johann Conrad Heise).¹²⁴ So perhaps 'Hasse' here is a corruption of Hallet.

20 August 1764, *Boston Gazette*

Just imported in the Mary, Capt. Deverson, and to be sold by Rivington & Miller, North Side of the Court-House Boston...

Schuchart's very best German flutes...

20 December 1764, *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*

Lately arrived from England, and is now at Mr. Charles Gilmore's the sign of the Orange Tree, Cannon's Wharf, New-York, T. Anderton, book binder, letter-case, and pocket book-maker; makes and sells wholesale and retail, all sorts of letter cases, deskcases, travelling cases and travelling boxes... Where also may be had, the very best cases of mathematical instruments, common flutes, Schuchart's hautboys...

23 May 1765, *New York Gazette & Weekly Post Boy*

Rivington and Brown, have this day imported in Capt. Berton from London ... an assortment of the following ... Schucart's German flutes...

13 June 1766, *South Carolina & American General*

Gazette

Robert Wells, at the Great Stationery and Book Shop on the Bay, has imported for sale in the last vessels from London... German flutes of ivory, ebony or box, by Schuchart, Gidney, &ct. English flutes of all sizes...

24 November 1768, *New-York Journal*

The following Articles are to be had of JAMES RIVINGTON... A very FINE BASSOON made by SHUCHART.

21 November 1769, *South Carolina Gazette* (Crouch), Charleston

Just Imported, by Nicholas Langford, Bookseller, from London ... German Flutes, by Schucart...

An instrument by Schuchart is also mentioned in two Dutch auction catalogues. That of the possessions of 'A. A. Grave van Pretorius, In zyn Edle Leven Generaal van de Infanterie, Gouverneur van Sluis in Vlaanderen, &c. &c. &c.' and 'Baron van d'Errevaux', sold by and at the house of Pieter van Os, bookseller, 'op de Plaats' in The Hague on 13 September 1762, includes, among other members of the flute family, '*Een Octavo Fluytje, door Chuchart*'.¹²⁵ The Dutch term *fluitje* (literally, 'little flute') was ambiguous by this time, but it is used in the same catalogue to refer to fifth flutes (descant recorders) by Richard Haka. So Schuchart's *octavo fluytje* was probably a sopranino recorder. Probably the instrument did not sell immediately as it appears again in Van Os' catalogue of the possessions of 'A. W. de Harde. En den Konstminnaar G. W.' on 14 March the following year.¹²⁶

Caleb Gedney (1729–69) and His Daughters

Since the researches of Maurice Byrne and Eric Halfpenny, it has been known that Caleb Gedney was Thomas Stanesby Junior's sole surviving apprentice and successor, and that he was buried at St Dunstan-in-the-West on 14 May 1769.¹²⁷ A notice in *Whitehall Evening Post or London Intelligencer* for 9 May 1769 states that 'Yesterday died Mr. Gedney, Flute-maker, in Fleet-street'. Less than a month later, on 2 June, Gedney's daughters published the

¹²³ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 216.

¹²⁴ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 170.

¹²⁵ Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, No. 1499, fiches 2532–2534; Verloop, *Het Muziekinstrument op de Boekenveiling, 1623–1775*, 33.

¹²⁶ Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, No. 1389, fiches 2309–2312; Verloop, *Het Muziekinstrument op de Boekenveiling, 1623–1775*, 34.

¹²⁷ Eric Halfpenny, 'Biographical Notices of the Early English Woodwind-making School', *GSJ* 12 (1959): 50–51; 'Further Light on the Stanesby Family', *GSJ* 13 (1960): 63–64; Byrne, 'Schuchart', 7–13; 'Some More on Stanesby

following advertisement in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*:

FLUTES, and all Kinds of Musical Wind Instruments, continue to be made and executed in the most complete manner, by CATHERINE and ANN GEDNEY, daughters and successors to their father, the late Mr. Caleb Gedney, at the Temple-Exchange Coffee-house, Fleet-street, and under the inspection of Mr. Miller, their guardian. The above daughters were brought up in the business, and finished most of the instruments for some years, in their father's life time. Gentlemen favouring them with their commands, will be most thankfully acknowledged, and punctually executed by their obedient servants, CATHERINE and ANN GEDNEY.

Catherine (b. 1749) was 20 at the time, and Ann (b. 1751) 17, the reason why they were still under the care of a guardian.¹²⁸ The surviving six-keyed flute marked CALEB / GEDNEY on all the joints and 1769 on the foot may well have been made by his daughters.¹²⁹ Its keywork is by John Hale, who worked at the Two Flutes and Hautboy, and took it over after Collier's death in 1785, but supplied keys to other makers, including George Astor, the Cahusac family, Henry Kusder, George Miller, Richard Potter, and Proser.¹³⁰

In addition to the well-known advertisement in *London Evening Post* of 9 March 1754, in which Gedney set out his relationship to Stanesby,¹³¹ he published another one in the same newspaper on 21 November that year in which he listed for the only time which instruments he made: 'and greatly excels any other Maker, viz. in Bassoons, approv'd on and recommended by Mr. Millar, and other eminent Masters on that Instrument; also Hautboys to the greatest Perfection, the nearest [i.e., neatest] and best Travers or German Flutes of all Sizes, English Flutes ditto, Fifes, Tabor Pipes, Pitch Pipes, &c. Orders out of the Country shall

be punctually obey'd'. The eminent bassoonist in question was John Miller (1700/1–1770).¹³² In view of this reference, it is possible that he was the guardian of Gedney's daughters; but if so, he did not live to fulfill his commission for long. English flute, first documented in 1745, was another term for the recorder.¹³³

A flute by Gedney was advertised in *Daily Advertiser*, 22 August 1774, at the lower level of reward normally offered for such instruments:

LOST out of a Gentleman's Pocket on Friday Morning last, as he was riding on the Forest on the Left Hand Side of the Road leading to Lee-Bridge, between the Eagle at Snaresbrook, and the six-mile Stone, a brown German Flute in a green Baize Bag, Maker's Name Caleb Gedney. Whoever will bring it to Mr. Gibson, at the Eagle abovementioned, or to No. 15, in London-Street, Fenchurch-Street, shall receive Half a Guinea. No greater Reward will be offered.

For a reference to flutes by Gedney being imported into America in 1766, see above.

Robert Horne (fl. 1761–73), Henry Thorowgood (fl. 1760–80), and Maurice Philips Whitaker (fl. 1760–82)

According to Waterhouse, Dayton Miller attributed a one-keyed flute in his collection (US-DC-Washington: 485) marked WHITAKER / LONDON to 'Maurice Whitaker, active c1760–78 as musical instrument maker, music printer and publisher'.¹³⁴ Waterhouse himself speculated that the flute in question may have been 'Connected with WHITAKER & CO.', run by the composer and organist John Whitaker, active 1819–37. The stories of Maurice Whitaker and Henry Thorowgood are so intertwined that I have chosen to tell them together.

Thorowgood and Robert Horne are first linked in the following advertisement in *Public Ledger*, 2 July 1761:

Junior', 115–22.

¹²⁸ Byrne, 'Some More on Stanesby Junior', 16.

¹²⁹ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, 183–84.

¹³⁰ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, 179; Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 157.

¹³¹ Reprinted 12, 14 March.

¹³² *Middlesex Journal or Chronicle of Liberty*, 24 March 1770: 'DIED.... Near South-Audley chapel, Mr. John Miller, musician, belonging to Covent-Garden theatre, aged 69. He was for many years reckoned the best performer on the bassoon, and always presided at the Italian operas, as the principal on that instrument, 'till about four years since, when Mr. Beard engaged him on a good salary at the above house'. See also *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* 10 (1984), s.v., 'Miller, John'.

¹³³ *Daily Advertiser*, 26 February 1745, sale of music and instrument, 'being the entire Collection of an eminent Virtuoso, deceas'd', including 'several German and English flutes....'

THE Gentlemen belonging to the Society of FREE BRITONS, are desired to take Notice, that the Annual Feast will be held on Wednesday next the 8th Instant, at Mrs. Cooper's, at Spring Gardens, Newington Green.

Mr. HENRY THOROWGOOD, President...

ROBERT HORNE, Secretary.

Previous meetings of the Society had been advertised on 8 February 1760 and 6 February 1761 (both *Public Ledger*, reporting *Daily Advertiser*). Its conservative, royalist agenda is revealed by the toasts given at a meeting in 1763 (*Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, 21 May).

1. The Church of England. 2. King, Queen, and Prince of Wales. 3. The Princess Dowager and all the Royal Family. 4. No Scottish Ministry. 5. No extension or enlargement of privilege of parliament. 6. May we have Ministers who will be content with their salaries, and not desert their country in time of need, on frivolous pretences, with pensions or peerages. 7. To an equitable land-tax. 8. Confusion to those who desert any true patriot, defending the *just* liberties of an Englishman; and to those who trample on the *just* prerogative of the King, or use him *contemptuously*. 9. Confusion to all those who assume such characters, under colourable pretences, only to the disturbance of the nation's tranquility. 10. May the people of England be at all times able to discover, when a faction or opposition is against *measures* or *men*. 11. To the Right Hon. Henry Legge, and all those who opposed continental connections, and were unwilling to exhaust the treasury in support of any foreign power. 12. May the late peace prove a good one, and its blessings be diffused to all the inhabitants of the earth.¹³⁵

The society is last mentioned on 25 October 1766 in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*: 'On Thursday last the gentlemen belonging to the Society of Free Britons, held at the Horn Tavern in Doctor's Commons, dined together ...; although the meeting was very numerous, every thing was conducted with that unanimity and good order for which the Society is so justly remarkable'.¹³⁶

Perhaps because of their work as fellow free Britons, Horne and Thorowgood became business partners, as summarized by Humphries and Smith: 'Thorowgood & Horne. Musical instrument makers, music printers and publishers, London: at the Violin and Guitar, opposite Grocers Alley in the Poultry, January 1772 [*recte* 1762]–mid-1763; at the Violin and Guitar, near Mercer's Chapel, Cheapside, 1763–c. October 1764... Henry Thorowgood continued the business alone'.¹³⁷

As reported in the supplement to Humphries and Smith, the partnership was announced in an advertisement in *Public Advertiser*, 4 January 1762:

HENRY THOROWGOOD, from Mr. COX's, late SIMPSON's Musick-Shop in Sweeting's-Alley, Royal-Exchange, and ROBERT HORNE, from Mess. THOMPSON's in St. Paul's Church-yard; beg Leave to inform their Friends, that they have opened a Shop, at the Sign of the Violin and Guitar, opposite Grocers-Alley in the Poultry, where Merchants, Captains of Ships, Country Dealers, and others, may be supplied with all Sorts of Goods in the Musical Business, Wholesale and Retail.

Musical Instruments repaired in the neatest Manner. All orders executed with the utmost Punctuality...

This advertisement links Thorowgood with a complicated line of succession in English music publishing history.¹³⁸ John Hare (d. 1725), who often co-published music with John Walsh, shared his business with his son Joseph from 1722. Joseph took over from 1725 to 1728, probably in conjunction with his mother, Elizabeth the elder. Then he set up his own business and ran it until his death in 1733, when it was taken over by his widow, Elizabeth the younger. John Simpson, who had worked for her, set up shop in Sweeting's Alley in 1734. When he died around 1749, his widow Ann carried on the business, at first alone, then from 1751 with her second husband, John Cox.

Horne had presumably apprenticed with Thompson: but which one? Robert Thompson had premises at Paul's Alley, St Paul's Churchyard, 1748–69. But more likely Horne had apprenticed

¹³⁴ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 426.

¹³⁵ 'Measures not men' became William Pitt the Elder's slogan in 1766. Legge served several times as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The 'peace' was the Treaty of Paris, which ended the Seven Year's War.

¹³⁶ The British Library Integrated Catalogue also lists a song, 'While Britania Shakes her Lance: An Ode in Honour of the Society of Free Britons' (London, n.d.).

¹³⁷ Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles from the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970), s.v., Supplement, 'Thorowgood & Horne'.

¹³⁸ See Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, s.v., 'Cox (John)', 'Hare (Elizabeth), the Younger', 'Hare (John)', 'Hare

with Peter Thompson, who was at the West end of St Paul's Churchyard, c. 1746–57, then was succeeded by his widow Ann and son Charles as Thompson and Son.¹³⁹

From the respective addresses given by Humphries and Smith, Thorowgood and Horne continued to advertise between 13 August 1762 (*Public Advertiser*) and 3 March 1764 (*Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*). Among their publications were two particularly relevant to our subject, neither of them extant. First, 'A Compleat Tutor for the GERMAN FLUTE. Containing, not only the best instructions for that Instrument, but also a pleasing Variety of the newest Airs, among which are the favourite ones in Artaxerxes, Love in a Village, Thomas and Sally, &c.' (*Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*, 10 June 1763). Second, what seems to have been the earliest separately published instructional material for the clarinet in any country (3 March 1764):

A Complete Scale for the CLARINET: To which is added, a Collection of useful and instructive Airs for that Instrument, amongst which are some favourite ones, particularly one for Horns and Clarinets, performed at Ranelagh with great Applause, and never before published... Where may be had, the compleatest Tutors for the German Flute, Violin, and Guitar. Choice of Second-hand Harpsichords and Spinnets.

Whitaker placed the following advertisement in *Public Advertiser*, 11 March 1760, which may have been intended to announce the opening of his shop:¹⁴⁰

WHITAKER, Musical Instrument-Maker, At the Violin, next the North-Gate of the Royal-Exchange, (From the late Mr. Simpson's). MAKES and sells all Sorts of Musical Instruments, viz. Violins, Tenors, Basses, Bassoons, German and Common Flutes, Harpsichords, Spinnets, and Hand Organs, &c. &c... Of whom may be had, Music for all Instruments, and the best Roman Strings, wholesale or retail. Harpsichords repaired, tuned and lett out. N.B. The Violin, Harpsichord, and German Flute, taught.

Another advertisement for Whitaker, *Public Advertiser*, 3 May 1760, lists a similar 'great choice of Musical Instruments by the best Makers', this time including 'Hautboys, French Horns, &c.' His address is clarified in *Gazetteer and London Daily Advertiser*,

25 November 1760, as 'under the Piazza, next the North-Gate of the Royal-Exchange'. Not until four years later does the significance of the ambiguous phrase 'From the late Mr. Simpson's' in Whitaker's initial advertisement become clear with another in *Public Advertiser*, 16 June 1764, in which Whitaker seeks to take over the customers from the Simpson/Cox shop, which was about to be sold:

MAURICE WHITAKER, Musical Instrument Maker, Assistant to the late Mr. SIMPSON, at his Music Shop in Sweeting's Alley, Cornhill, and chief Manager of that Business for several Years after his Death for the Widow; and Mr. COX, her second Husband, (finding by public Advertisement that Mrs. Cox's Health does not permit her to continue in Business) begs Leave to acquaint the Public, and the Merchants in particular, that he carries on the same Business in every Branch thereof, at his Music Shop, the Sign of the Violin, under the North Piazza of the Royal Exchange; where he hopes to receive the Favour of their Commands, which will be most punctually and respectfully obeyed, by Their most obedient humble Servant, MAURICE WHITAKER.

This advertisement links Whitaker, too, with the Simpson succession (see above).

Details of the sale of the Simpson/Cox shop appear in an advertisement in *Lloyd's Evening Post*, 20 June:

To be SOLD by AUCTION, By Mr. BROWNING, At his Great Room in the Royal Exchanges. On Tuesday the 26th Instant, and the following Day, THE Remainder of the Lease of the Dwelling-House and Shop of that old and well-established Musick-Shop in Sweeting's-alley, Cornhill, (carried on many years by Mr. Simpson) now in the Occupation of Mrs. Cox, in full Trade, who will recommend all the Customers to the Purchaser of the Lease, her Health not permitting her to continue in Business. Also all the genuine Stock in Trade; consisting of several Thousand curious engraved Copper and Pewter Plates, of the Works of the most esteemed and eminent Musick Masters, together with a great Number of Musick Books of the newest and most favourite Pieces, Songs, &c. Variety of curious Fiddles, Basses, Violoncellos, Harpsichords, Dulcimers, Guitars, Mandolins, French Horns, and other Instruments, particularly a remarkable fine Fiddler by Jacobus Stainer, 1671, esteemed worth 50 Guineas; an exceeding fine Cremona Tenor, 1673,

(Joseph)', 'Simpson (Ann)', and 'Simpson (John)'.

¹³⁹ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, s.v., 'Thompson (Peter)' and 'Thompson (Robert)'.

¹⁴⁰ The material reported here about Whitaker is summarized in Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, s.v.,

a very valuable Steel Engine complete for silvering Strings of all Kinds, a large Parcel of very old fine season'd Air Wood for Fiddles, and other Instruments, and various other Effects...

Whitaker had a competitor for the customers of the Simpson/Cox shop in the shape of Thorowgood, who advertised the same day he did, 16 June, in a different newspaper, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*:

To MERCHANTS, DEALERS, and Others.

MR. COX, of Sweeting's-Alley, Royal-Exchange, Musical Instrument Maker, (with whom I served my Apprenticeship) having left off Trade, I humbly solicit the Favours of his Customers, who may depend on being supplied with all Sorts of Goods in the Musical Business, on the most reasonable Terms, at the Violin and Guitar, near Mercers-Chapel, Cheapside. By their most obedient Servant, HENRY THOROWGOOD.

The situation became more complicated when William Curtis took out an advertisement two months later (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 14 August 1764) in which he claimed to be the owner of the shop that Whitaker had been advertising as his own:

To the PUBLIC.

THE MUSIC SHOP in the North Piazza of the Royal-Exchange, in which MAURICE PHILLIPS WHITAKER, for some Time past, officiated as my Servant or Shopman, will, from this Time, be carried on by me alone; and all Persons of the Trade, and others, are hereby warned not to give him Credit on my Account, and all those who are indebted for Goods bought at the said Shop, are desired to pay such Debts to me only, the same being my Property, as will appear by Deed executed between us (on his First entering into my Service) left for Perusal at the said Shop. WILLIAM CURTIS.

N.B. The said William Curtis builds Organs, makes Harpsichords, and repairs and sells all Manner of Musical Instruments, at the above Shop, and at his House and Warehouse in Threadneedle-street, as usual.

But about two months after that, Curtis was dead. On 15 October (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*), Mary Curtis, 'THE WIDOW of the late WILLIAM CURTIS', announced that she 'intends, with the Assistance of her said Husband's Brother,

Mr. THO. CURTIS, to carry on the Business, at the Music-Shop under the North Piazza of the Royal Exchange, for the Benefit of herself and her Infant Son, as the same was carried on in her Husband's Life-time...'

That arrangement did not last long: by 22 December Mary and Thomas Curtis had been bought out by Thorowgood (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*), who had also picked up some of the stock from the Simpson/Cox shop:¹⁴¹

HENRY THOROWGOOD, Musical-Instrument Maker and Music Printer, (the Apprentice at SIMPSON's, in Sweeting's-Alley) begs Leave to inform his Customers and the Public in general, that he is removed from Cheapside, to the late Mr. CURTIS's Music-Shop, in the North Piazza of the Royal-Exchange; and having purchased the most valuable Part of the Stock of that Shop, and a considerable Part of Mr. Cox's Musical Effects, at a late Public Sale, which with the Stock of his late Shop in Cheapside, he is enabled not only to oblige the Public with every Thing in the Musical-Way with the utmost Dispatch, but on the lowest Terms: He therefore hopes for the Continuance of the Favours of the late Mr. Curtis's Customers, and all others may depend on being respectfully treated, and their Favours gratefully acknowledged.

Where did that leave Whitaker? Not to be outdone, he had responded to Curtis's advertisement in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 20 August:

MAURICE PHILIPS WHITAKER, Musical Instrument-Maker, takes the Liberty to inform his Friends and the Public, that notwithstanding, by several Advertisements in the Daily Papers, it is ascertained that he had left off Business, this is to acquaint them to the contrary, and that he will continue to carry on his said Business, and is now preparing a Shop near his former one, at the North Side of the Royal Exchange, which will be shortly opened; and in the mean Time, he will give constant Attendance at the Portugal Coffee-House, Sweeting's-Alley, near the Royal Exchange, to take the Orders of those Gentlemen who will favour him with their Commands, which shall be punctually performed by they most obedient Servant, MAURICE PHILIPS WHITAKER.

On 25 November 1765, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, he was reported to be the tenant of a

Supplement, 'Whitaker (Maurice)'.

¹⁴¹ Other stock had been bought by John Walsh Jr. and Robert Bremner; see Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*,

'substantial message' on Fleet Street at £50 per annum, in an advertisement for the sale of the freehold. On 5 April the following year, however, an advertisement in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* by a Mr. Richards, dancing master and violin teacher, soliciting business, asks readers to 'direct a line' to him 'at Mr. Whitaker's musical instrument-maker, at the Violin and German Flute, under the Piazza, next the North-gate of the Royal-Exchange, opposite Bartholomew-lane'. This may represent a change of sign for Whitaker, or just an error. Unfortunately, Whitaker does not seem to have advertised again, and references to him in advertisements by others do not mention his sign, only his address, which appears in several variants: 'at the North-gate of the Royal Exchange' (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 22 January 1767), 'behind the Royal Exchange' (*Public Advertiser*, 23 April 1769), 'opposite the Bank' (*Public Advertiser*, 31 August 1771, 23 January 1772), and 'North side the Royal-Exchange' (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 17 January 1777).

The exact address is finally spelt out in *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 13 April 1782, when Whitaker's successor in business advertised:

To the Curious in Musical Instruments. JOHN BETTS, real Musical Instrument-maker, begs leave to inform the public, and in particular those gentlemen who are judges of violins, tenours, and violoncellos, that he has taken Mr. Whitaker's late shop, No. 2, North Piazza, Royal Exchange, where he actually makes instruments in the ancient manner, after the patterns of Antonius Stravuraus, Nicholas Amati, Jacobus Stainers, &c. He further adds, that he is not to be numbered amongst those who pretend to be makers, and are obliged to give the work entrusted to them to others, but that he has served seven years apprenticeship to that much-esteemed artist, Mr. [Richard] Duke, senior and worked with him full ten years after. Vanity it may be thought, should he venture to say, that he has rather, by his assiduity and observing his late master's method, made improvements on his art to alter violins that are deficient in tone equal to those made in Cremona. Several fine-toned instruments to be sold as above.¹⁴²

When street numbering began, Thorowgood's music shop was advertised at No. 6 North Piazza (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 26 December 1767). Thus

since around 1764 there had existed the curious phenomenon of two different music shops within a few doors of each other in the North Piazza of the Royal Exchange, both owned by former associates of John Simpson.

From the confirmed Sign of Whitaker's shop, the Violin, and the fact that his successor was a stringed-instrument maker, it is likely that Whitaker also made stringed ones, if he made any instruments at all. Perhaps in the adjective 'real' and the phrases 'actually makes' and 'pretend to be makers' Betts was even having a dig at him.

Powell observes that on a flute stamped CAHUSAC /LONDON in the Bate Collection, Oxford, 'The MW stamp appears below the maker's mark, perhaps indicating the name of a dealer to whom the instrument was sold. Likely candidates are Maurice Whitaker, or the Birmingham dealer Michael Woodward'.¹⁴³ The latter, however, used the mark WOODWARD / BIRMINGHAM.¹⁴⁴

To return to Thorowgood, his separation from Horne seems to be marked by the following advertisement in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 29 October 1764, just before he removed to Curtis's former premises. It gives us a wonderful sense, from A to Z, of what a music shop could sell in the mid-eighteenth century:

THOROWGOOD, Musical Instrument-Maker and Music-Printer, at the Violin and Guitar, near Mercer's-Chapel, in Cheapside, makes and sells, Wholesale and Retail, Æolian Harps, Bassoons, all sorts of Bows and Bridges, Bell Harps, Bagpipes Scotch and Irish, Bass Viols, Cases for all Instruments, Cymballs, Clarinets, Double Bases, Drums, Dulcimeres, Desks or Music Stands, all sorts and sizes of English and German Flutes, Flutes for Birds, Flagelets for ditto, Fifes for the Army, Guittars, ditto Strings, German Flute Bags, Harpsichords, ditto Hinges and Locks, ditto Hammers and Wires, French Horns, Strait Horns, Hautboys, Kettle Drums, Kitts, Mandolins, Mouth-Pieces for Horns, ditto for German Flutes, Mutes or Sardines, Nuts for Bows, Organs, Pins for Violins, &c. Pens to rule Music Paper, Pitch Pipes, Crow or Raven Quills, all Sorts and Sizes of Rules Books and Paper, Rosin Boxes, Reeds for Bassoons and Hautboys, Spinnets, ditto Jacks, all Sorts of Roman Strings, Trumpets, Tail-Pieces, Tabors, ditto Pipes, Tenors, Violins of all Prices, small Violins, Violoncellos, Welch Harps. All Musical Instruments repaired; Music Books

¹⁴² 'Cox (John)'.

¹⁴³ On Betts, see *Grove Music Online*, s.v., 'Betts, John,' by Charles Beare; accessed 2 March 2009.

¹⁴⁴ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, 182, n. 14; see also Byrne, 'Schuchart', 13, n. 24.

bound, gilt, and lettered; Music copied, and Bows haired; and Music published for Authors... Also the newest and most approved Instruction Books for the Violin, German Flute, Guittar, French Horn, Singing, Clarinet, &c.

(Virtually the same list appears in the same newspaper, 13 June 1770, except that the 'flutes for birds' are now 'of all sorts and sizes', and Whitaker adds: 'harpsichords, spinnets, guittars, &c. lett out and tuned on immediate notice'.) He expanded on the Æolian harps in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 23 May 1765:

Where may be had, price one guinea, in a compleat case, that most pleasing and harmonious instrument, called the HARP of ÆOLUS, which plays of itself when placed in a window; on which is fixed a scale for tuning Guitars, by which any person, not knowing how to tune that instrument, may tune it immediately, without the assistance of a master; and in order to facilitate the tuning of both instruments, printed directions, adapted to the meanest capacity, will be delivered to the purchases gratis.

On 25 August 1772 (*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*), the composer James Book complained: 'Whereas a spurious copy has been published (by Thorowgood, Music Seller, behind the Royal Exchange) of the favourite Scotch Song, sung by Mr. Vernon, at Vauxhall, beginning with "believe my sighs", Mr. Hook thinks it his duty (it being his property) to inform the public, that it is an incorrect copy; not only having many wrong notes, but being deficient in the song and symphony twelve bars. The true copy is sold to Mr. [Peter] Welker, and will be published in a collection with several other favourite songs in a day or two'.

On 22 November 1775 in the same newspaper, Thorowgood advertised two guineas' reward for the apprehension and conviction of 'some evil and ill-disposed person or persons' who had defaced and damaged several shops in the North Piazza and 'wantonly and maliciously cut the backs of several Sedan Chairs under the same'. He continued advertising music up to 15 March 1779 (*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*), and his shop is last mentioned on 27 January the following year (same newspaper).

Meanwhile, by 4 May 1767, Horne had emigrated to America; in *New-York Mercury* he advertised

himself as:

Musical Instrument maker from LONDON; HAVING just arrived with a Parcel of fine VIOLINS, &c. to be sold wholesale and retail, on the most reasonable Terms, at Mr. Simon Coley's, Silversmith, near the Coffee-House. N.B. Makes and repairs Musical Instruments, in the best Manner, with the best Roman Strings, Pins, Bridges, &c.

In the same newspaper on 15 September, Horne confirmed that he was primarily a stringed-instrument maker, including of the Æolian harps beloved by Thorowgood, but added that he also made flutes:

Robert Horne, Musical Instrument-Maker, from London, at Mr. Francis Colley's, on Golden-Hill; Makes and repairs violins, bass viols, tenor viols, Æolian harps, gautiers, German flutes, kitts, violin bows, &c. In the neatest and compleatest manner. All orders punctually obey'd, with the quickest dispatch: The favour of Gentlemen and Ladies shall be duly honour'd with their Commands. — N.B. Merchants may be supplied with any of the above, cheaper than in London, on proper notice given.

In his next advertisement, in *New-York Gazette; and the Weekly Mercury*, 9 December 1771 (repeated up to 23 December 1772), after he had set up his own shop, Horne no longer mentioned flutes:

ROBERT HORNE, Musical Instrument-Maker, from LONDON, On GOLDEN-HILL, near Burling's-Slip, MAKES and repairs musical instruments viz. Violins, tennors, violoncellos, guittars, kitts, aeolus harps, spinnets, and spinnet jacks, violin bows, tail-pieces, pins, bridges; bows hair'd, and the best Roman Strings, &c. N. B. Country stores supply'd on the shortest notice.

Nancy Groce, who noticed these advertisements, suggests that 'Horne was probably the same man who worked as "Drum maker to his Majesty's Office of Ordnance" at 20 Barbican Street, London in the mid-eighteenth century'.¹⁴⁵ Horne does not, however, mention drums in his New York advertisements. And a notice of bankruptcy against 'Robert Horne, late of Barbican in the Parish of St. Giles Cripplegate in the City of London, Drum-maker, Dealer and Chapman' in *London Gazette*, 22 March 1783, confirms that he

¹⁴⁴ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 436.

¹⁴⁵ Nancy Groce, *Musical Instrument Makers of New York: A Directory of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Urban*

was a different man than the earlier string maker.

Robert Hallet (fl. 1767)

I draw attention to two instruments possibly made by Hallet (see under Schuchart above and Hall below). In addition to the well-known maker Benjamin Hallet,¹⁴⁶ Robert Hallet, wind instrument maker, White Horse Alley, Cow Cross, released three men from prosecution on 1 September 1767.¹⁴⁷

Thomas Collier (d. 1785)

Two instruments by Collier were advertised in London newspapers:

10 September 1776, *Daily Advertiser*

To be Sold by Auction by HENRY WATKINS, At his Sale Rooms, Holborn-Bridge, this and the following Day ... THE neat Houshold Furniture, and valuable Stock in Trade, of a Country Shopkeeper, deceased, consisting of a Quantity of Musical Instruments, particularly a fine toned Chamber Organ, in a mahogany Case, two Violins by Thompson, a Clarinet by Collier...

The flute mentioned in the following advertisement in *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 10 March 1795, may have belonged to Pietro Grassi Florio, being advertised a little before his death on 20 June that year:

TO FLUTE PLAYERS. A CAPITAL COLLIER'S FLUTE, with TWO MIDDLE JOINTS, and all the ADDITIONAL KEYS, to be disposed of. It was a long time the Instrument of one of the First Masters in the World, and is warranted genuine and perfect. The Price is FIVE GUINEAS—Inquire at the OFFICE of THIS PAPER.

But perhaps the date is a coincidence and the flute had belonged to Joseph Tacet; certainly he and Florio had been the leading London flautists of this period. (For their association with keyed flutes, see below.)

Flutes by Collier also found their way to America. The following advertisement in *Royal Georgia Gazette*, Charleston, South Carolina, on 8 June 1780, appeared with a notice that Adam Tunno intended to leave the 'province':

Taken out of said Tunno's room last Saturday, a boxwood German flute, with ivory ferrils, maker's name T. Collier. As he supposed the person who took it only meant to borrow it for a few days, he is therefore requested to return it. If stolen, one guinea reward will be given to any person upon delivery.

John Hale (fl. 1772–1804)

We have already noted Hale as the successor to Collier in 1785 and a supplier of keys to other London woodwind makers. Byrne cited Hale's initials on a five-keyed clarinet by Collier in the Keighley Corporation Museum dated 1770 as evidence 'that he was working with Collier from at least this date'.¹⁴⁸ A record for an apprentice of Hale's named Allen Grant, indentured on 13 November 1772, supports this theory.¹⁴⁹

Thomas Cahusac Senior (1714–1798)

The following instruments by Cahusac were advertised cheaply:

28 July 1766, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*

PAWNS, &c... Enquire at the Sun, in Scotland-yard, Charing-cross... Now to be sold, for almost half their value ... a German flute.

Similar advertisement 18 August 1766: A German flute by Cahusac, for 12s.

6 February 1769, *Public Advertiser*

STOLEN since Thursday last, an Ivory German Flute, with two Silver Keys, one to C sharp, Maker's Name Cahusac, London, but uncertain whether marked so or not. If offered to be pawned or sold, stop it and the Party, and give Notice to Sir John Fielding, and you shall receive Half a Guinea Reward from the Owner.

Of the forty-two surviving flutes by Cahusac, none have two keys.¹⁵⁰

15 August 1776, *Daily Advertiser*

LOST between Charing-Cross and Temple-Bar, the two lower Joints of a German Flute, mounted with Silver, Maker's Name Cahusac. Any Person who has found the same and will bring them to Mr. Hildisch, No. 2, Gough-Square, shall receive Five Shillings. It

Craftsman, Annotated Reference Tools in Music, 4 (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1991), 79.

¹⁴⁶ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 158.

¹⁴⁷ Nex and Whitehead, 'Musical Instrument Making', 262.

¹⁴⁸ Byrne, 'Church Band at Swalcliffe', 94, 96.

¹⁴⁹ *London Music Trades, 1750–1800*, citing Apprenticeship Books at Public Record Office, Kew, IR1/27, f. 153.

will be no more advertised, nor any further Reward offered.

Four apprentices of Thomas Senior are known: Robert Lawson (apprenticed 22 November 1763), Robert Wheeler (21 July 1777), George Ibbetson (2 August 1782), and William Barritt (29 April 1785).¹⁵¹

Thomas Cahusac Junior (b. 1756) and William Maurice Cahusac (fl. 1794–1816)

An entry in a poll book for 3 April 1784 confirms the first address given by Waterhouse for Thomas Cahusac Junior: Great Newport Street, St Martin-in-the-Fields.¹⁵² Cahusac was enough of a music publisher and seller that he took an apprentice, Thomas Turner, on 27 January 1795 described as ‘bookseller’.¹⁵³

Waterhouse noted that Thomas Cahusac was in partnership with his brother William Maurice between 1798 and 1800, then gave Thomas’ new address at 41 Haymarket as 1802–05.¹⁵⁴ The following advertisement in *Morning Herald*, 20 August 1800, puts the address back to his separation from his brother in 1800:

THOMAS CAHUSAC, Musical Instrument Maker, begs leave to inform his Friends and the Public in general, that he is removed from No. 196, Strand, facing St. Clement’s Church, to No. 41, Haymarket; where he has opened a Manufactory for all kind of Musical Instruments of the best quality. Also may be had, every new Publication. Real Importer of Roman Strings. N.B. Instruments tuned, and lett out on hire.

The dissolution of the partnership on 12 August had been reported in *London Gazette* on the 16th.

William Maurice was described in two fire insurance policies (1808 and 1812) as ‘musical wind instrument maker and music seller’.¹⁵⁵ He was enough of a publisher, like his brother and father, to merit an entry in Humphries and Smith. Waterhouse

lists him as remaining in the Strand premises until 1810, then moving to 79 High Holborn until 1816.¹⁵⁶ What Waterhouse does not mention is that he went bankrupt in the latter year, his certificates being confirmed on 19 October.¹⁵⁷

Budd

The following advertisement in *Public Advertiser*, 28 November 1769, mentions an otherwise unknown maker:

WHEREAS the House of Mr. ANDREWS, Apothecary in Kensington, was last Night broke open and robbed of ... a German Flute, Maker’s Name William Budd... If any of the above Things should be offered for Sale, or Pledge, stop them and the Party, and give Notice to Sir John Fielding, and you shall receive Two Guineas Reward from the Owner, if the Whole is recovered, or in Proportion for Part.

The first name may have been given incorrectly, because an Edward Budd, flute maker, of May’s Buildings, St Martin-in-the Fields, is recorded in a poll book on 18 October 1774.¹⁵⁸ F. Budd (1762–1839), perhaps a son, is listed in Waterhouse.¹⁵⁹

The Cotton Family

Waterhouse, citing Langwill, states that William Cotton died on 22 January 1775.¹⁶⁰ In fact, he died on the 20th, and later newspaper reports were incorrect.

21 January 1775, *London Evening Post*

Died... Yesterday, in Bride-lane, Mr. Cotton, flute-maker and under beadle of St. Bride’s.

Public Advertiser for 23 January gives the cause of death as ‘the Yellow-jaundice’. Mortimer’s directory of 1763 had given a slightly garbled version of Cotton’s address: ‘COTTON, William, Flute-maker. Bridewell-lane’, confusing the parish with its best-known inhabitant, Bridewell prison.¹⁶¹ The address is

¹⁵⁰ Young, 4900 *Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 43–44.

¹⁵¹ *London Music Trades 1750–1800*, citing Apprenticeship Books at Public Record Office, Kew, IR1/29, f. 119; IR1/23, f. 226.

¹⁵² *London Music Trades 1750–1800*.

¹⁵³ *London Music Trades 1750–1800*, citing Apprenticeship Books at Public Record Office, Kew, IR1/32, f. 161.

¹⁵⁴ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 55.

¹⁵⁵ Guildhall Library, Mss. 11936/445/816470 and 11936/459/871082.

¹⁵⁶ He is listed there in *Kent’s Original London Directory 1816*, 60.

¹⁵⁷ *London Gazette*, no. 17177, 28 September 1816.

¹⁵⁸ *London Music Trades 1750–1800*.

¹⁵⁹ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 48.

¹⁶⁰ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 72.

given even more accurately on his trade card, 'Bride Lane Court'. None of the advertisements mentions Cotton's age at his death, given by Waterhouse as 66.

The 'Mr. Cotton, Steward of Bridewell' who died on 27 November 1759 was presumably a relative of William's, even his father.¹⁶² Doane's *A Musical Directory* (1794) still lists 'Cotton, Flute-Maker.—Bride's Passage, Fleet-Street'—perhaps William's son—as well as 'Cotton, Jnr, Violin.—Ditto'.¹⁶³

Richard Potter (1726–1806)

Potter had been an undistinguished flute-maker for more than thirty years¹⁶⁴ when he became 'a household word in late eighteenth-century Europe' for his 1785 patent: 'a flute with a graduated screw-cork, round embouchure, and metal-lined tuning slide, pewter-plug keys for B \flat , G \sharp —offside F–D \sharp in metal-lined keyways, and a graduated metal-lined register'.¹⁶⁵ Powell remarks: 'When the novice amateur flautist of the 1780s turned to the fingering-chart in his first flute tutor, the illustration of "Mr. Potter's new-invented Patent German-Flute" was a potent marketing tool against which competitors who had been making keyed flutes for 30 years were defenceless. Using all the music shops of London to distribute the patent flute held few risks for Potter, since the technological innovations in the flute and the legal protection of the patent discouraged imitators, at least initially'.¹⁶⁶

Powell's survey of surviving dated Potter flutes shows that he was making flutes with one, three, five, and six keys between 1776 and 1782.¹⁶⁷ None of them exhibits any innovative features. But two undated one-keyed flutes with the same stamp (POTTER / SENIOR) found on instruments dated 1776–81 'seem to indicate that Potter was developing his ideas about a graduated tuning slide and register at some stage before he filed the 1785 patent. GB-London Horniman 14.5.47/148 has a bore identical with that

of the 1782 one-keyed flute. The tuning slide is not lined with metal, but has a wooden tenon wound with thread which slides into a socket in the barrel join, beneath a thicker, graduated tenon projecting from the barrel into a socket in the main part of the headjoint. The graduated double slide is marked with positions about 1.6 mm apart, numbered from 1 (fully extended) to 6 (fully closed). The foot-register is correspondingly marked with groove 1.6 mm apart, numbered from 1 to 6. It too is unlined, and its tenon is wound with thread. The flute's ivory screw-cork has an ungraduated gauge with numbers from 1 to 6 stamped on its spindle'.¹⁶⁸

Perhaps it was because he was cranking up his production that on 10 July 1781 Potter obtained a licence from the Lord Mayor to employ William Silk, John Varnell, and Samuel Varnell, all non-free journeymen, for a period of three months.¹⁶⁹

Two American advertisements are of interest:

22 November 1777, *New-York Loyal Gazette*.
Musical Instruments. The following are the Particulars of those lately imported, and to be sold by J. Rivington. Florios, German Flutes, with six Silver Keys, Do. with six Brass Keys, Potter's fine toned German Flutes, Potter's do on a new Construction, Do. of inferior Price

This is the earliest American advertisement that mentions flutes with any additional keys, although 'German flutes of a new construction' had been advertised by Nicholas Brooks in Philadelphia on 25 January 1773 (*Pennsylvania Packet; and the General Advertiser*). The 'new construction' in the case of the Rivington advertisement of 1777, probably stemming from Potter's own advertising material, presumably just referred to additional keys. The earliest dated Potter flute with six keys stems from

¹⁶¹ 'An Eighteenth-Century Directory of London Musicians', *GSJ* 2 (1949): 30.

¹⁶² *Public Advertiser*, 29 November 1759, 'On Tuesday died....'

¹⁶³ Doane, *A Musical Directory*, 15.

¹⁶⁴ The statement in Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 308 (probably left over from Lyndesay G. Langwill, 'London Wind-Instrument Makers of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Music Review* 7, no. 2 [1946]: 100), 'Workshop established c1745 by ... Richard', is unlikely to be true, given that Potter did not finish his apprenticeship until 1748 around the age of 22.

¹⁶⁵ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, 194; for the patent, see *Patents for Inventions. Abridgments of Specifications relating to Music and Musical Instruments. A.D. 1694–1866*, 2nd ed. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1871; reprint, London: Tony Bingham, 1984), 16–17.

¹⁶⁶ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, 187, 189.

¹⁶⁷ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, Table 2, 190.

¹⁶⁸ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, 192–93.

¹⁶⁹ *London Music Trades 1750–1800*, citing Corporation of London Record Office, Licence Books to Employ Non-Free Journeymen, vol. 10, p. 120.

that same year, and two with five keys are known from the previous year.¹⁷⁰

27 September 1783, *Pennsylvania Packet*

Musical Instruments To be disposed of at prime cost, viz. A fine toned Forte Piano in a mahogany case; an excellent Violoncello of an extra sweet sound; a German Flute, made by Potter in London on an entire new construction. To prevent trouble, the prices are, of the Forte-Piano 25l. currency; of the Violoncello 6 Guineas, and of the German Flute 3 Guineas. They may be seen at Mr. Metts's, shoemaker, in Front-Street, the second house above Walnut-Street, Philadelphia.

We have already noted other flutes by Potter being imported into the American colonies in 1762 and 1764. Thereafter they, or just 'patent flutes', are mentioned more than flutes by any other maker.

18 July 1771, *Virginia Gazette*, Williamsburg

Lost, either in York, or in its neighbourhood, the top part of a German flute, tipped with ivory, having Potter, the maker's name, on it. It can be of no service to any person, without the other parts. Whoever finds it, is desired to send or bring it to the printer hereof, who will direct him where to find a reward.

29 July 1775, *Pennsylvania Ledger*

Nicholas Brooks, in Second-street ... continues to dispose of the following curious collection of goods, viz. ... Pottor's fifes of the very best kind, made in London, to go with a drum, and is very easy to learn...

Waterhouse does not list any surviving fifes by Potter, and Young does not have an entry on him.

3 January 1777, *Virginia Gazette*

Ten Pounds Reward. Was stolen out of Mr. William Smith's tavern in Fredericksburg, on the evening of the 22nd of December 1776, between the hours of 7 and 9 o'clock, a large portmanteau, containing a variety of wearing apparel and other articles, the most particular of which are the following... 2 German flutes, one of them marked with the maker's name on it, Potter...

3 May 1780, *Rivington's New York Gazette*

... Musical Instruments imported in the London fleet, and sold by James Rivington... Potter's and other English and German Flutes...

4 February 1782, *New York Mercury*

Valentine Nutter, stationer, has for sale, at his store,

22, Water-Street, opposite the Coffee-House, the following articles: ... Potter's best German flutes of three and four keys, with instructions for do...

27 January 1783, *New-York Gazette; and The Weekly Mercury*

Cheap for cash ... Best Voice Flutes, and Potter's three Key Flutes... May be had of Valentine Nutter, No. 22, Water street, opposite the Coffee-House.

30 July 1783, *Pennsylvania Gazette*

Books and Stationary, just imported, and now opening for sale, at William Prichard's Circulating Library and Book-store... Peter's [Potter's?] German flutes...

30 October 1793, *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, Charleston, South Carolina

T. Bradford, No. 130, Tradd-Street, Has imported for sale in the ships Major Pinckney, Carolina Planter and Minerva, from London ... Potter's patent German flutes...

9 December 1793, *The Federal Gazette, and Philadelphia Evening Post*

Musical Repository, No. 122, South side of Market street. B. Carr & Co. respectfully inform the public that they have received per the ship George Barclay, from London ... Musical Instruments from the first manufactories—consisting of ... Patent and common German flutes...

3 April 1797, *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*

Musick Store, No. 6, Gay-Street, J. Carr has received by the Montezuma ... Patent German Flutes with silver tubes...

15 April 1797, *Philadelphia Gazette & Universal Daily Advertiser*

James Jacks, Jeweller & Watchmaker, No. 1, south Third-street, (formerly Cook's store) has imported in the last ships from London, via Charleston... patent and plain flutes...

4 July 1798, *Commercial Advertiser*, New York

... to be seen at No. 112 Broadway, John and M. Paff ... have also received from London, a great variety of musical instruments ... Potter's patent flutes...

14 July 1798, *New-York Gazette and General Advertiser*

William Howe, organ builder, No. 329 Pearl-street, Respectfully informs his friends and the public in general, that in addition to his extensive stock of Musical Instruments, he has just received by the Two

¹⁷⁰ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, Table 2, 190.

Friends from London, a great assortment of Music & Musical Instruments, As follows ... Potter's patent and other German flutes...

19 December 1798, *Daily Advertiser*, New York
J. and M. PAFFS, No. 112 Broadway, opposite the City Tavern, Respectfully informs the public, they have received from London a great variety of Musical Instruments, viz. ... Potter's patent flutes with 1, 4 and 6 keys...

Similar advertisement in *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, 11 March 1799

18 October 1799, *Salem Gazette*, Massachusetts
Just received & for sale by B. B. Macanulty, corner of Essex and Washington Streets... German Flutes ... patent Flutes, with six silver keys...

1 December 1800, *Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser*, Boston
This Day Published, at P. A. Von Hagen's Piano Forte Ware-House, No. 3, Cornhill ... Likewise—for sale—A new supply of imported ... patent and common Flutes...

Potter was newsworthy enough to have two of his misfortunes reported:

1 October 1776, *Public Advertiser*
Saturday Part of the Pavement of the Yard of Mr. Potter, Flute-maker in Pemberton-row, near Gough-square, suddenly fell into a Vault underneath, while Mr. Potter was talking with an Acquaintance, within a very few Inches of the Aperture formed by the Accident.

21 January 1785, *Public Advertiser*
On Monday last, about five in evening, a thief or thieves got in at the kitchen-window of Mr. Potter, Flute-maker in Pemberton Row, near Gough Square, while the servant was gone up stairs) and stole a great-coat, a coat and waistcoat, a bundle of linen, and the maid's cloaths and bonnet, and got off without detection.

Potter's house had been a target earlier: on 21 February 1770 one Matthew Martin was convinced at the Old Bailey for the theft of various items of silverware from Potter: five tablepoons, a pint mug, a pap-spoon, a marrow spoon, a pepper-castor, a punch-ladle, a pair of tea-tongs, and a half-pint mug.¹⁷¹ The witnesses included his servant Mary Hudson.

Further Potter or patent flutes are also mentioned

in English advertisements:

17 May 1766, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*
BOOKS ON SALE... by Homan Turpin, bookseller, at the Golden-Key, St. John-Street, West-Smithfield... likewise ... four new German flutes, made by Potter.

26 October 1782, *Public Advertiser*
Rotation Office, Litchfield-street, Soho, October 25, 1782. To STABLE-KEEPERS, and Others, FOUND in the Possession of two suspicious Persons now in Custody, supposed to have been stolen ... a Flute, by Potter, tipped with Ivory, with a Silver Key. Any Person or Persons having lost any of the above Things, are desired to apply immediately to the fitting Magistrates at the above Office, and they will be informed of the Persons who have them in Care.

12 April 1787, *London Chronicle*
GUINEA GERMAN FLUTES, GRATIS. Manufactured by the celebrated Mr. POTTER; tipped with ivory, and silver keys. This Day was published, Price 1s. only, NUMBER 1. (To be continued Weekly, till the whole is completed, in 60 numbers), of HARRISON'S NEW GERMAN FLUTE MAGAZINE, Consisting of new, favourite, and complete Operas, Oratorios, Cantatas, Minuets, Marches, Dances, Songs, Solos, Duets, &c. at half the usual prices. The whole neatly, uniformly, and correctly engraved, under the direction of Dr. ARNOLD, Organist and Composer to his Majesty.

This Work will commence with an entirely new and most familiar book of instructions for the German Flute, written on purpose by Dr. Arnold, accompanied by an elegant frontispiece, finely engraved by Smith, from an original design by Mr. Burney; and though every number of the Work is to contain nearly double the quantity of music usually sold at the same price—a note will be delivered Gratis with each number, entitling the bearer of those given with the first 30 numbers to a half-guinea flute, manufactured by Mr. Potter; or a guinea flute, tipped with ivory, and silver keys, by the same celebrated maker, on producing the whole sixty.

The flutes of both descriptions may now be seen at the shop of Messrs. Harrison and Co. who will immediately deliver them to any subscriber, on receiving the full subscription.

Printed for Harrison and Co, No. 18, Paternoster-row.

26 May 1787, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*
... Harrison and Co. No. 18, Paternoster-row. Of whom may be had, No. 1, 2, 3, and 4, of the New German

¹⁷¹ *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 21 February 1770; Nex and Whitehead, 'Musical Instrument Making', 262.

Flute Magazine, with Guinea Flutes gratis, price 1s. each number...

10 December 1789, *Bath Chronicle*

MUSICK LIBRARY, And MUSICAL INSTRUMENT Warehouse, No. 3, ABBEY-CHURCH-YARD, BATH. JAMES LINTERN respectfully informs the Nobility, Gentry, &c. that he has now ready for Sale, or to Lett on Hire, a choice collection of ... PATENT GERMAN FLUTES...

27 April 1793, *World*

SALES BY AUCTION... By Mr. WHITE, By ORDER of the ADMINISTRATRIX, On the Premises, No. 54, Wells-street, Oxford street, on Wednesday, the 7th of May next, at Twelve o'Clock. THE Genteel and Neat HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, China, a Capital GRAND PIANO FORTE, by KIRCKMAN, two Viol da Gambas, a Flute, by Potter, a Violoncello, and other Effects Of Mr. JOHN CHRISTOPHER ZEIDLER, Deceased...

1 August 1798, *Morning Chronicle*

SALES BY AUCTION... By Messrs. SPURRIER and PHIPPS, On the Premises, at Waddon, near Croydon, Surry, on Monday the 13th inst. and the following day... THE genteel and modern HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE ... a fine toned Harpsichord, a Guitar, a German Flute by Potter ... and other Effects of a GENTLEMAN retiring into Wales...

'Florio' and 'Tacet'

The relationship between the flautists Joseph Tacet (fl. 1751–86)¹⁷² and Pietro Grassi Florio (d. 1795)¹⁷³ and the development of the flute with multiple keys have been well surveyed by Powell.

Because their names were featured in the earliest instruction books for the keyed flute, [Richard] Potter, Tacet, and Florio have frequently been credited with 'improvements' to the flute... As for Tacet and Florio, the story of their lives and work provides no substance for such claims...

How [Tacet's] name came to be associated with the additional keys, and in particular with the pewter

plugs, is a matter of some confusion. The earliest mention of his name in this connection is the legend added to *The Compleat Tutor* of c.1765 published by Fentum. The wording there, referring to 'Florio and Tacet's new invented German Flute with all the Keys', makes no express claim as to the inventor, and if we interpret it in the light of the wording in subsequent tutors, such as Cahusac's of c.1766 ['a new invented German Flute with additional Keys ... such as play'd on by the two celebrated Masters, Tacet and Florio'], it would seem that the names of these two performers were used only because it would help to sell the instruments they had been heard to play in public concerts. Documentation of their use of flutes is ambiguous: in 1780 *ABC Dario Musico*, published anonymously at Bath, reported that Tacet used a flute with extra keys, but Florio did not. However, low C#s occur in Florio's Op. III trios for flute, violin, and cello, published on Christmas Eve 1781.

When Florio's name was dropped from the association with Tacet's in about 1780, the claim 'Invented by Mr. Tacet' was made explicitly for the first time. The remark in Arnold's 1787 tutor for the Potter patent flute that the additional keys were 'an advantage first suggested by Mr. Tacet' is not made in independence of this questionable rumour...

Tacet's name became known in Germany around 1790, from mentions in the first edition of Gerber's *Lexicon* [1790–92] and in Tromlitz's 1791 *An das musikalische Publikum*. Gerber had evidently not actually seen a 'Tacet' flute himself, as his description is inaccurate, and he may well have relied on information for the entry from Tromlitz himself.¹⁷⁴

The trade name *Florio* was used on keyed flutes by the Two Flutes and Hautboy workshop, probably beginning in about 1770... Later Florio flutes with a C-foot were made by Hale... One-keyed flutes with a Florio stamp ... were a cheaper grade of instrument made for an altogether less discriminating clientele, in a workshop with much lower standards of design and workmanship.¹⁷⁵

Incidentally, the charming entries in *ABC Dario musico*, which Powell cites via Byrne, do not seem to have been quoted in full before:

¹⁷² Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 394, states that Tacet died in London in 1801. But none of his authorities cites such information, and Tacet does not appear in advertisements in the Burney Collection after 1782; neither is he listed in Doane, *A Musical Directory* (1794). Byrne, 'Schuchart', 11, reported that Tacet was a ratepayer at Meards Court, Dean Street, from 1760 until March 1786. See also *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* 14 (1991), s.v., 'Tacet, Joseph'.

¹⁷³ See *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* 5 (1978), s.v. 'Florio, Pietro Grassi'; death date 20 June 1795 given in *Grove Music Online*, s.v. 'Florio, Pietro Grassi'; accessed 6 January 2009.

¹⁷⁴ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, 10–11.

¹⁷⁵ Powell, *Keyed Flute*, 182–83.

FLORIO. A Saxon. He has published some musick; but never having heard himself, or any one else, play that music, we shall pass it over. As a performer on the flute, his tone is full and round, yet sometimes forced. If he did not fall into the common vice of solo performers, attempting to surprise more than to please, we should give him unlimited praise for his performance on an instrument; the essence of which is expression, and not execution.¹⁷⁶

T.C.T. A performer of great eminence on the German flute, to which instrument he has tacked an unnecessary number of keys. We decide on them as unnecessary, because *Florio*, with at least an equal power and compass, plays without them. Tacet has composed, but we never have seen or heard his works. He has very great execution, though not greater than *Florio*'s; nor is his tone so generally soft or pleasing.¹⁷⁷

Byrne suggested, 'without any real evidence, that Joseph Tacet was in some way responsible for Mason making his extended flute'.¹⁷⁸ Byrne evidently came up with this idea because Mason made his announcement in the same year as Tacet has hitherto been reported to have arrived in England.¹⁷⁹ In fact, Tacet had begun his performing career in England by the year before, as an advertisement in *Public Advertiser* for 12 February 1755 makes clear:

At the Instance of several of the Nobility and Gentry.
AT the New Theatre in the Haymarket. To-morrow,
the 13th Instant, will be performed ... a Solo upon the
German Flute by Mr. Tacet...

Although no flutes bearing Tacet's name have apparently survived, such instruments do appear in advertisements.

29 April 1774, *Daily Advertiser*

April 21, 1774. LOST, supposed to have been left in the Pocket of a Chaise or Coach, on the Dover Road, a German Flute, in a green Cloth Case, with six Keys, 'J. Jacet' marked on the several Pieces. Whoever will bring it to the Cocoa Tree Coffee-House, Pall-Mall, shall receive Two Guineas Reward; if offered to be pawned or sold stop it, and the same Gratuity shall be given.

It may well be that the mark was Tacet's signature and the flute belonged to him, having been lost while he was taking a trip to his native France.¹⁸⁰ No higher reward than one guinea was offered for any other flute in the advertisements; Pall-Mall is about a mile from Meard's Court, Dean Street, where Tacet was a rate payer in 1760–86; and the confusion of Jacet for Tacet is more likely to have happened with a signature than a mark. (The same confusion is found in an advertisement what seems to have been his last advertised performance, in *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, 22 February 1782: 'Concerto, German Flute, Mr. Jacet'.¹⁸¹)

The next reference is ambiguous, because 'German flutes by Florio, Tacet and Potter' could be a generic reference to keyed flutes:

9 July 1782, Whitehall Evening Post

To be SOLD by AUCTION, by Messrs. SAMPSON & SPURRIER, On the Premises, on Monday the 29th Instant, and the two following Days at 11 o'Clock THE neat and genteel HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE ... at the Residence late of — FITZGERALD, Esq. deceased [in Weybridge, Surrey]... a double key'd Harpsichord by Kirkman, a Piano Forte by Zumpe, a fine old Violin, 4 German Flutes by Florio, Tacet and Potter... Catalogues may be had on the Premises, of Mr. Sampson, Throgmorton-Street, and of Mr. Spurrier, Copt-hall Court, Throgmorton-Street.

¹⁷⁶ *ABC Dario musico* (Bath, 1780), 21–22.

¹⁷⁷ *ABC Dario musico*, 45.

¹⁷⁸ Byrne, 'Schuchart', 10.

¹⁷⁹ Byrne cites Eitner's *Quellen Lexikon*, which in turn cites C. F. Pohl, *Mozart und Haydn in London* (Vienna: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1867; reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), I, 56: 'Joseph Tacet, der 1756 zum erstenmal auftrat....' *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* 14 (1991), s.v. 'Tacet, Joseph', mentions a London advertisement of 13 February 1755 as Tacet's 'first notice in London'.

¹⁸⁰ *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* reports that 'The Burney papers at McGill University reveal that Joseph Tacet played in the Concerts Spirituels in Paris in 1751'. Thus the statement by Paule Chaillon-Guioimar in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, s.v., 'Nantes', that Tacet stemmed from Nantes is more likely to be true than Gustav Schilling's that Tacet 'war aus London gebürtig' (*Encyclopädie der gesamten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst* [Stuttgart: Franz Heinrich Köhler, 1838; reprint, Hildesheim & New York: Georg Olms, 1974], VI, 562).

¹⁸¹ His identity is confirmed by an advertisement for the same concert in the *Morning Herald and Daily Advertiser*, 21 February 1782.

The following reference does sound generic:

6 October 1784; advertisement in *Massachusetts Centinel and the Republican Journal*

Musick, An excellent ton'd, second-hand Harpsichord, a new Spinnet, and a Tacit and Florio German Flute, may be had on very low terms, by enquiring at Warden and Russell's Printing Office.

And the following reference could also be just to a flute with additional keys, although it is rather late to be invoking Tacet's name in that connection:

27 June 1797, *Times*

SALES BY AUCTION... By Messrs. SPURRIER and PHIPPS, On the Premises, No. 3, Warnford-court, Throgmorton-Street, TO-MORROW... THE Modern and Excellent HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, 2 fine toned Violins, a German Flute by Tasset, with extra Keys, and other Effects of a GENTLEMAN...

Instruments by 'Florio' are named in four further advertisements. The adjectives 'valuable' and 'capital' suggest instruments made by the Two Flutes and Hautboy workshop rather than the cheap variety:

17 November 1786, *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*
Sales by Auction... By Mr. WINSTANLEY, On the Premises, No. 87, Newman-street, Oxford-street, on Wednesday the 22d instant, and following day, at Eleven o'Clock, THE Genteel and Excellent Household Furniture, fine table and bed linen, china, a capital brilliant toned harpsichord, by Kirkman; a full toned violin by Stainer, 1670; a ditto, by Stradiuarius, cremona, 1731; a ditto, by Foster, 1774; a valuable German flute, by Florio; ninety-three complete sets of overtures, by Mislewicek, Ricci, Bach, Abel, and other eminent masters... and other valuable effects of A GENTLEMAN retiring into the country...

3 November 1791, *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*
LOST last Night, out of one of the Windows at the Oxford Coffee-House, Strand, a Black Leather PORTMANTEAU, containing, among other Things ... two Florio Flutes, one new, the other old, with F. T. [the owner's initials] on one of the lower keys, the tube in the upper joint solid silver, and the ivory on the top joint has been cracked, but fastened on with glue... Whoever will leave the above at the Bar of the Oxford Coffee-House, shall receive FIFTEEN POUNDS.

7 January 1794, *Daily Advertiser*

To be Sold by Auction by Mr. HASKEW, This and following Days... ALL the neat Houshold Furniture,

Linen, China, and Wearing-Apparel, of Mr. THOMAS WAGGSTAFF, Taylor, deceased, and removed from John-Street, Tottenham-Court-Road, to No. 4, Greek-Street, Soho Square... and German Flute by Florio...

1 September 1796, *Times*

SALES BY AUCTION... VALUABLE EFFECTS, GREAT TOWER HILL. By Messrs. SPURRIER and PHIPPS, On the Premises, Great Tower-Hill, on Wednesday Sept. 7, and following Day... THE handsome and modern HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE ... a very fine Grand Piano-forte by Stodhart, a capital Flute by Floris [sic] ... Effects of THOMAS BETTESWORTH, Esq. deceased...

Florio flutes are also named in several American advertisements:

22 November 1777, *New-York Loyal Gazette*

Musical Instruments. The following are the Particulars of those lately imported, and to be sold by J. Rivington. Florios, German Flutes, with six Silver Keys, Do. with six Brass Keys,

3 May 1780, *Rivington's New York Gazette*

The following late pamphlets to be had of James Rivington... Musical Instruments imported in the London fleet, and sold by James Rivington... Florio's German Flutes, with all the keys...

23 December 1780, *Rivington's New York Gazette*

Music Ware-House, By James Rivington. Who sells a variety of instruments, as ... Florio's celebrated and approved German Flutes with six keys.

20 April 1793, *Columbian Centinel*, Boston

Just imported In the Minerva, Capt. Scott, from London, and now opening, for Sale, By Nathaniel Blake, At his Store, No. 56, Cornhill—(opposite the State-House, A large and general Assortment of European Goods ... new patent and Florio Flutes, with additional keys...

11 November 1794, *Daily Advertiser*, New York

Frederick Rausch and George Gilbert. Have commenced business, under the firm of, G. GILBERT and Co. Who have for sale at their Musical Magazine. No. 191, BROADWAY. A Great variety of music and musical instruments, consisting of ... German flutes, feries [Florio's?] do...

20 May 1796, *Massachusetts Mercury*, Boston

Notice! Nathaniel Blake, Informs his Friends and Customers ... Musical Instruments—such as ... Florio

and German Flutes...

31 October 1815, *New-England Palladium & Commercial Advertiser*, Boston

... JUST received from London, via Liverpool, by the Milo, Captain Glover ... Florio Flutes... the NEW STORE, Long Rooms, over Messrs. J. Callender & Son's, Marlboro'-street.

Longman and Lukey

Although we have already seen sets of recorders being kept in cases, and 'a German Flute garnished with Ivory, in a Case' was advertised as early as 1727,¹⁸² three advertisements for flutes lost or stolen report them as having been kept in bags—presumably one of the reasons why individual joints were sometimes lost.

TWO Small Green Bags, containing a Brown-colour'd German Flute in six Pieces, the Maker's Name *Stanesby*, jun. (1739, see above)

21 August 1760, *Public Ledger or the Daily Register of Commerce and Intelligence*

... LOST ... A German Flute in a green Silk Bag...

a brown German Flute in a green Baize Bag, Maker's Name Caleb Gedney. (1774, see above)

Henry Thorowgood even advertised 'German Flute Bags' in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 29 October 1764 and 13 June 1770. In the latter year, however, the following modern development occurred:

20 January 1770, *General Evening Post*

... LONGMAN and LUKEY... at their music-shop, No. 26, Cheapside, Where may be had... their new-invented Pocket-cases for German flutes, (of all sizes) which preserve them in excessive hot or immoderate damp climates, keep them free from dust, and from all danger of breaking...

'Cases for German Flutes' were being imported by Rivington in New York in 1777.¹⁸³

A man named John Norton was indicted at the Old Bailey on 12 January 1774 for stealing seven flutes from Longman and Lukey, valued at £3 10s.¹⁸⁴ Longman testified: 'In the year 1772 I lived in St.

Paul's Church-yard, while my present house in Cheapside was rebuilding. I keep a musick shop, and sell musical instruments. I lost a great quantity of instruments to the amount of £300–400'. In the 'flute shop in High-Holborn' belonging to James Wheeler, he had spotted the flutes and recognized them as his own by the spare joints left behind. 'Three of them were left me by a friend and relation at his decease'. Wheeler testified that he had bought them two or three years earlier, 'of a person who answered to the description of the prisoner'. Despite the contention of an instrument-maker named Robert Worland that 'it is impossible in my judgment, for any man to swear to a flute without some private mark upon it', Norton was found guilty of stealing 'to the value of 39s.' and transported for seven years.

Longman and Broderip

In a legal case on 12 December 1787, a man named Samuel Allen who worked for Thomas Culliford, a harpsichord maker in Cheapside, was asked by the counsel for the defence, 'Messrs. Longman and Broderip employ a great many men in their trade?' and replied 'A great many'.¹⁸⁵

The advertisements by this partnership stress keyboard instruments, which no doubt had a bigger profit margin, and list woodwind instruments only as an afterthought. For example:

18 November 1790, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*

... LONGMAN AND BRODERIP, No. 26, CHEAPSIDE, AND NO. 13, HAYMARKET, LONDON, MUSICAL INSTRUMENT MAKERS TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF WALES... MILITARY INSTRUMENTS. Regiments supplied with complete sets, or any parts of such, well seasoned, as will be warranted; and, if not approved, may be exchanged. Also old Instruments repaired... Bassoons and Clarinets... Hautboys, Flutes, and Fifes...

The first of many similar ones.

The following, in *Star*, 11 October 1796, represents a brief change in approach:

MILITARY Musical Instruments of every description Manufactured and Sold in the greatest perfection by LONGMAN and BRODERIP, Musical Instrument Makers, and Music sellers to their Majesties, at No.

¹⁸² *Daily Courant*, 4 March 1727.

¹⁸³ Advertisement, *New-York Loyal Gazette*, 22 November 1777.

¹⁸⁴ *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 12 January 1774; Nex and Whitehead, 'Musical Instrument Making', 263, 270.

¹⁸⁵ *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 12 December 1787; Nex and Whitehead, 'Musical Instrument Making', 264, 270.

26, Cheapside; and at No. 13, Hay-market, viz. Fifes, Regimental Flutes, Clarinets, Bassoons, Concert Horns, Bugle Horns, Trumpets, Serpents, Bass Drums, Triangles, Cymbals, and Tambour de Basque, where Commanders of Regiments, or their Agents, may be supplied with them on reasonable terms, and at short notice...

But by this time the firm was going through bankruptcy, as first reported in *London Gazette*, 23 May 1795. From the public's point of view, the bankruptcy went smoothly: six days later, the firm announced (*London Packet or Lloyd's New Evening Post*): 'LONGMAN AND BRODERIP, MUSICAL INSTRUMENT MAKERS. THE PUBLIC are respectfully informed, that the above Business is carried on, as usual, at the Houses of Messrs. LONGMAN and BRODERIP, in Cheapside, the Haymarket, and Tottenham Court-road; and all Orders will be punctually executed'.¹⁸⁶ One of the assignees was Muzio Clementi,¹⁸⁷ with whom Longman went into partnership in 1798 (*Morning Chronicle*, 3 November). The other assignees are named in a series of three legal cases at the Old Bailey on 6 April 1796: William Blake, William Boxam, Josiah Banger, and John Wood.¹⁸⁸ David Davies declared that he was 'superintendent of the works' for the firm and 'manager of the affairs of the assignees'. Several employees or associates of the firm appeared during the case.¹⁸⁹ Waterhouse says that Longman & Clementi lasted until 'c1801'; it was last mentioned in advertisements on 2 April 1802 (*The Morning Chronicle*).

Fortunately, some details of the firm's flutes and fifes are found in the following American

advertisement:

23 February 1795, *Philadelphia Gazette & Universal Daily Advertiser*

Thomas Biggs, Mathematical & Optical Instrument Maker, At the sign of the Mariner and Quadrant, No. 81, Front street, south ... has just received from Messrs. Brodrip and Longman's manufactory, musical instruments, &c. &c. the latest and most approved music [sic] as follows...

German flutes with single and extra joints, silver and brass keys, from 3 to 9 dollars.

Fifes from 7s6 to 10s made of the best Turkey box wood and tip'd.

Likewise ... mouth pieces for German flutes...

We shall see below that woodwind instruments by John Cramer were being sold by the firm.

Joshua Collins (fl. 1771–73)

Waterhouse reported a mark 'Joseph Collings' on an oboe and octave bassoon, remarking, 'The name has also been read as "Joshua Collinge", "Coigne". The oboe ... bears a dating (manuscript) of "November 1771"'.¹⁹⁰

Joshua Collins, describing himself as 'musical instrument-maker and turner from Manchester', announced in *Maryland Gazette*, Annapolis, 25 February 1773, that he had begun business 'at Messrs Shaw and Chisholm's Cabinet shop; where all sorts of turner's work is executed in the completest manner; also German and common flutes, hautboys, fifes, &c. of all sorts and sizes; all sorts of musical instruments repaired...' Furthermore, 'He has opened an evening school for musick, at Mr. John Hepburn's, where he teaches the most modern

¹⁸⁶ On 3 June (*Morning Post and Fashionable World*), their attorneys advertised: 'The Creditors of Messrs. LONGMAN and BRODERIP ... who intend proving their Debts under the Commission, on Saturday next, (the Day appointed for the Choice of Assignees), are requested to send the amount of their Debts, with the Particulars of the Securities they hold, to Messrs. Herne and Pearce, solicitors to the Commission, that their Depositions may be prepared prior to the Meeting'; meeting of creditors, 22 August (*London Packet or Lloyd's New Evening Post*, 21 August); assignees begin advertising 18 November (*Courier and Evening Gazette*); certificates to be granted on or before 14 May 1796 (*General Evening Post*, 23 April); dividends 28 May 1800 (*Observer*, 9 February).

¹⁸⁷ Nex and Whitehead, 'Musical Instrument Making', 265–66.

¹⁸⁸ *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 6 April 1796; Nex and Whitehead, 'Musical Instrument Making', 265–66.

¹⁸⁹ Samuel Allen (see above), an employee of Ellison & Oakley, musical instrument makers, Fountain-court, who made instruments for Longman and Broderip. Thomas Baskerville, porter and packer at the firm's warehouse, Fountain Court, Cheapside. John Bates, a musician and instrument seller aged 32, who claimed to sell the firm's instruments on a sale-or-return basis (found guilty of stealing a piano forte; sentenced to twelve months in Newgate and fined 1s. because of his good character). William Figgs, worker in firm's 'wareroom'. William Gater, organ builder aged 47, employed for sixteen years (found guilty of stealing a piano forte and fined 1s. because of his good character). Richard Geast, aged 28, tuner (found not guilty of stealing a piano, a spinnet, a violin, and five violin bows; guilty of stealing another piano; sentenced to be transported for seven years). Henry Holland, organ builder. Thomas Young, harpsichord and piano forte maker, formerly in the firm's employment; sold their instruments on a sale-or-return basis.

¹⁹⁰ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 69.

and approved methods of playing the German flute, hautboy, clarinet, bassoon, &c. Having been educated in that science, under the care of some of the greatest masters in England'. Perhaps he had picked up such training by stopping off in London on the way to America.

No other woodwind makers from Manchester are known before Michael Cowlan in 1835.¹⁹¹

Adam Martin (fl. 1775–1800)

Two surviving one-keyed flutes are marked 'A. Martin, London' and 'MARTIN / LONDON'.¹⁹² Waterhouse wondered whether they were made by the same man, 'identifiable with Adam Martin, listed 1796 as "Mus. Inst. Mkr." at Hermitage Bridge'.¹⁹³ A 1794 London directory described him as 'Musical Instrument-maker, & Tortoiseshell worker'.¹⁹⁴ The following advertisement confirms that he made flutes and gives details of his speciality:

28 December 1775, *Daily Advertiser*

TORTOISHELL Work. Tortoiseshell joined for Mathematical Instrument Makers and others in the neatest and most durable Manner, by ADAM MARTIN, Musical-Instrument-Maker, at the Hermitage Bridge. He also makes and covers Flutes with Tortoiseshell, in which the Beauty of the Shell and Mellowness of the Wood are united. All other Kinds of German Flutes made and sold by him. Gentlemen and others who are pleased to honour him with their Commands, may depend upon being served with the best Instruments, and on the most reasonable Terms.

Martin's tortoiseshell is like Bressan's mentioned above: a veneer was fitted over the body of the flute.

The following American advertisement could well be a garbled version of his name and address, since no maker of the given name is known:

5 April 1784, *New York Packet and the American Advertiser* (printed by Samuel Loudon)

GERMAN FLUTES, Made by M. HERMITAGE, London, Sold by the Printer hereof.

Martin is listed in a London directory of 1790 as

'musical instrument maker, Hermitage bridge'.¹⁹⁵

Three years later, however, he went bankrupt, as first reported in *London Gazette*, 28 May 1793: 'Adam Martin, of Hermitage Bridge in the County of Middlesex, Musical Instrument Maker, Dealer and Chapman'. The final dividend on his estate was not made until 1 December 1795 (*London Gazette*, 3 November). A month after his bankruptcy, his stock-in-trade and belongings were auctioned off, showing that he stocked not only woodwind instruments and material to make them (including 'tortoiseshell'), but also bowed and plucked strings and keyboard instruments:

24 June 1793, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*

SALES by AUCTION. To Musical Instrument Makers and others, By JOHN AYRES, On Thursday, the 27th instant, at eleven o'clock, by order of the Assignees, on the Premises, adjoining the Hermitage Bridge, East Smithfield, ALL the Valuable STOCK in TRADE, HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE, Linen, china, &c. of Mr. ADAM MARTIN, Musical Instrument and Flute Maker, a Bankrupt. The stock comprises nineteen violins, three tenor ditto, a valuable cremona, five guitars, three Bassoons, twenty-two fifes, six German flutes, forty-two unfinished ditto, four piano fortes, a patent ditto, four organs, nineteen gross of pencils, seven hundred and eighty nine dozen of slate pieces, one harp, eleven bundles of first strings, two globes, several dozen of base viol wood, two vertical jacks, a large quantity of ivory and tortoiseshell, music books, mahogany in boards and veneers, satin wood, cedar, sycamore, holly, and hard woods; nests of drawers, counters, shelves, scales and weights, and variety of other effects.

The household furniture comprises four-post bedsteads and bureau ditto, four feather beds, blankets, and quilts; mahogany double and single chests of drawers, mahogany bureau and bookcase, gothic doors, mahogany chairs, an eight-day clock, glasses, linen, books; a grate and copper, as fixed; and variety of kitchen furniture...

Martin is still listed in a London directory for 1800 at Hermitage Bridge.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹¹ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 74.

¹⁹² Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 253–54.

¹⁹³ See also Doane, *A Musical Directory* (1794), 44: 'Martin, Instrument Maker.—Hermitage Bridge, Wapping'; and *The General London Guide; or, Tradesman's Directory for the Year 1794*, 76.

¹⁹⁴ *Kent's Directory for the Year 1794. Cities of London and Westminster, & Borough of Southwark*; available from <http://www.londonancestor.com/kents/kents-menu.htm>; accessed 3 March 2009.

¹⁹⁵ *Wakefield's Merchant and Tradesman's General Directory ... for the Year 1790*, 200.

¹⁹⁶ *The New Annual Directory for the Year 1800* (London: T. Maiden for the proprietors, 1800), 246.

George Astor (1752–1813) and Family; John Jacob Astor (1763–1848)

Reference sources from Langwill to Waterhouse to Clinkscale to *Grove Music Online* state that the German-born brothers George (Georg Peter) and John Jacob (Johann Jacob) Astor established a flute-making workshop as ‘George & John Astor’ at 26 Wych Street, London from around 1778 to 1783.¹⁹⁷ No source is ever given for this information, some of which is assuredly garbled.

George was living in St Clement Danes, the same parish as Wych Street, on 15 July 1781, when his son Joseph was baptised.¹⁹⁸ The rate books suggest that George entered a house that is impossible to identify on Wych Street around August 1782, moved to another (again unidentifiable) around May 1791, then left again around 1797 for 79 Cornhill.¹⁹⁹ In the 1788 poll book he is noted as ‘George Astor 24 Wych St Flute Maker’.²⁰⁰ Perhaps this was an error for 26. In any case, this entry may be the sole surviving evidence that he actually made flutes rather than act as a dealer or manufacturer.

The so-called partnership between the Astor brothers would have been impossible. John Jacob did not join his brother in London until 1779, when he was only about 16 and had not yet learned a trade, apart from what he had picked up over the previous two years from working as an assistant in his father’s butcher’s shop.²⁰¹ He could well have been apprenticed to his brother over the next four years, and O’Loughlin suggests that ‘A one-

key flute (Horniman Museum, London) marked “Jacob, London” may have been made by the younger Astor’.²⁰² But he left for the United States in November 1783, only two months after the end of the Revolutionary War, arriving in Baltimore in March the following year, and there is no evidence that he tried to practice the turner’s trade in his new country.²⁰³ Rather, by a curious turn of fate, on the voyage Astor made the acquaintance of a German furrier, who, according to an account by Astor’s friend Washington Irving, the celebrated author, ‘cheerfully gave him all the information in his power as to the quality and value of different furs, and the mode of carrying on the traffic’.²⁰⁴ Thus Astor entered the fur trade, and eventually invested the profits in real-estate, famously amassing vast wealth.

Astor is traditionally said to have taken seven flutes with him to America that he had bought from his brother for five guineas;²⁰⁵ and O’Loughlin goes so far as to characterize him as having ‘left for the USA to sell flutes’. More reliably, in a letter written in 1836, Astor himself described his arrival in Baltimore, where he met a Swiss merchant and told the man he ‘had some articles of merchandise to dispose of chiefly music and musical-instruments’.²⁰⁶ William Whetten, the son of John Whetten, mate on the ship that took Astor to America, reported that Astor ‘had a *pacotillo* of musical instruments’.²⁰⁷ Joseph G. Cogswell, who knew Astor and after his death was appointed by his wishes superintendent of the Astor Library, wrote: ‘a consignment from

¹⁹⁷ Lyndesay G. Langwill, *An Index of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers* (Edinburgh: author, 1960); Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 12; Martha Novak Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700–1820* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 6; *Grove Music Online*, s.v., ‘Astor’, by Niall O’Loughlin; accessed 6 January 2009.

¹⁹⁸ *International Genealogical Index*; accessed 25 January 2009.

¹⁹⁹ Information kindly supplied by Maurice Byrne.

²⁰⁰ Information from Byrne.

²⁰¹ Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor: Business Man* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931; reprint, New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), 5, 7.

²⁰² *Grove Music Online*, s.v., ‘Astor’, by Niall O’Loughlin; accessed 6 January 2009.

²⁰³ Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 11–12.

²⁰⁴ Washington Irving, *Astoria, or Anecdotes of an Enterprise beyond the Rocky Mountains* (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard, 1836; London: R. Bentley, 1836; reprint, ed. Richard Dilworth Rust, *The Complete Works of Washington Irving*, XV [Boston: Twayne, 1976]), 15.

²⁰⁵ [Moses Yale Beach], *Wealth and Biography of the Wealthy Citizens of New York City* (New York: Sun Office, 1845; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1973), 4; anon. [James Parton], ‘John Jacob Astor’, *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 30, no. 177 (February 1865): 311; reprinted in *Parton’s Life of John Jacob Astor, to Which is Appended a Copy of his Last Will* (New York: American News Company, 1865), 29; Parton, *Famous Americans of Recent Times* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1867), 440; Arthur D. Howden Smith, *John Jacob Astor: Landlord of New York* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1929), 25–26, 28.

²⁰⁶ Quoted in Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 18.

²⁰⁷ Quoted in Richard Henry Greene, *The Todd Genealogy, or the Register of the Descendants of Adam Todd* (New York: Wilbur & Hastings, 1867), 36.

his brother of some few hundred dollars' worth of musical instruments'.²⁰⁸

By the middle of April 1784, Astor had moved on to New York and doubtless wished to sell whatever he may have brought from London for ready cash. Richard Williamm, an early biographer, wrote that: 'Young Astor, with no place of business, and no acquaintance among those most likely to buy musical instruments, finally left his flutes at the printing-office of Samuel Loudon's *New York Packet* for sale. The sale of goods on commission by printers was an old custom in New York, dating back to the establishment of the first papers'.²⁰⁹ Williamm then quotes the following advertisement, making the assumption that the flutes were Astor's and that the advertisement was repeated until they were sold:

23 September 1784, *New York Packet and the American Advertiser*

German Flutes, Of a Superior Quality, to be sold at this Printing-Office.

Repeated 30 September, 4, 11, 21 October 1784; 27 February, 3, 10 February, 10 March 1785

The first scholarly biographer, Kenneth Wiggins Porter, remarks: 'It is altogether possible that these were Astor's flutes, but of course we cannot be positive'.²¹⁰ (We have seen above that Loudon was selling flutes apparently made by Adam Martin on 5 April that year; it is almost possible that these belonged to Astor, but the date is about two weeks before he arrived in New York, and in any case he would have been far more likely to have flutes made by his brother than by Martin.) Porter does note the following advertisement in the *New York Packet*, 27 January 1785, observing, 'This is exactly the type of consignment which Astor would probably have brought from England'.²¹¹

JUST IMPORTED, Per the Mesborough, Captain Danser, and to be SOLD, by S. Loudon, 1 Chamber

Organ, with Diapason Stops, German Flutes, tipt with silver and common, 1 Eolichord with hammer and strings, Bath Packs country dances, for piano forte and harpsichord, A variety of music by the best Masters, for several instruments, all of which will be sold on reasonable terms. N.B. As the above mentioned, are the property of a gentleman who means to leave this city about two or three weeks hence, those who intend to purchase will be speedy in their application.

That presupposes Astor had made an immediate return trip to England, as related by Irving: the German furrier 'subsequently accompanied him to New York, and by his advice Mr. Astor was induced to invest the proceeds of his merchandize in furs. With these he sailed from New York to London in 1784, disposed of them advantageously, made himself further acquainted with the course of the trade and returned the same year to New York...'²¹² The story was supported by Cogswell: 'After a short visit to this country he returned to London, and rendered an account to his brother of the consignment he had made to him, the returns from which were sold for their mutual benefit'.²¹³ Even the most recent study of Astor, by John Denis Haeger, repeats the story approvingly,²¹⁴ although Porter had considered it doubtful.

Less than two years later, Astor, newly married,²¹⁵ set up his own shop in New York at his mother-in-law's house. He must have had already had some capital or good credit with London makers, as he could advertise:

19 November 1785, *Daily Advertiser; Political, Historical, and Commercial*

JACOB ASTOR. No. 8[blank], Queen-Street, near the Friends Meeting-House. Has just imported, in the ship *Triumph*, an elegant assortment of musical instruments, such as Piannaforte's, German-flutes, Violins, Clarinets, Hautboy's, Guitar's, &c.

Repeated 24 November with 'No. 8[blank]' corrected

²⁰⁸ [Joseph C. Cogswell], 'The Astor Library and its Founder', *The United States Magazine of Science, Art, Manufactures, Agriculture, Commerce and Trade* 2, no. 5 (October 1855): 137.

²⁰⁹ An Old New Yorker (Richard Williamm, Jr., pseud.), 'The Astor Family of New York', *Scribner's Monthly* 11, no. 6 (April 1876): 881.

²¹⁰ Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 21.

²¹¹ Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 22.

²¹² Loc. cit.

²¹³ Cogswell, 'Astor Library', 137.

²¹⁴ John Denis Haeger, *John Jacob Astor; Business and Finance in the Early Republic*, Great Lakes Books (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 46.

²¹⁵ He married Sarah Todd on 19 September 1785; Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 24.

to 'No. 81'; 26 November

25 May 1786, *Loudon's New-York Packet*

JACOB ASTOR, No. 81, Queen Street, two doors from the Friends Meeting House, Has just imported from London, An elegant assortment of Musical Instruments, such as piano fortes, spinnets, piano-forte guittars, guittars, the best of violins, German flutes, clarinets, hautboys, fifes, the best Roman violin strings, and all other kinds of strings, music books and paper, and every other article in the musical line, which he will dispose of on very low terms for cash.

Repeated 8 June

Porter, presumably based on papers in the Astor archive, states that his brother George 'sold him goods for his musical-instrument store and acted as his London agent in various transactions'.²¹⁶ A similar advertisement followed the next year:

7 August 1787, *New-York Packet*

JACOB ASTOR, No. 81, Queen-Street, two doors from the Friends Meeting-House; Has just received from London, an elegant assortment of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, such as Piano-Fortes of the best kind, Violins of all sorts, Bassoons, Clarinet, Hout-Boys, German Flutes, &c. which are to be sold on very reasonable terms.

Repeated 14 August, 18 September

After that, Astor advertised only pianos for two years, before mentioning only furs (and wine on the side).²¹⁷ Parton (1865) reported that 'in some old houses are preserved ancient pianos bearing the name of J. J. Astor as the seller thereof. Violins and flutes, also, are occasionally met with that have his name upon them'.²¹⁸

In the following advertisement, Austin has not been reported previously, so the word was probably a corruption of Astor, as reported verbally to the clerk:

10 April 1786, *Pennsylvania Packet, and Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia

Twenty Dollars Reward. Last Night the store of John Rice, in Market street, was broke open and robbed of ... several german flutes, maker's name Austin, London... April 5.

If so, the instruments were probably among the flutes Astor had imported.

The firm of John Broadwood and Sons wrote a letter to *The Times*, 26 February 1890, in which they reproduce a letter to them from John Jacob who had been visiting London a century earlier and ordered one of their pianos:

City Coffee-house, Cheapside, March 14, 1795.

Gentlemen:—Please to make me one of the best grant pianofortes you can. I rely on your honour to let it be a good one. I wish to have it plain in every respect and the case of handsome wood. The belly may be screwed fast. When done call on Mr. George Astor for the payment. I shall wish to have it shipped in July or August next by the ship Hope for New York, or any other good ship. To be sent Mr. J. Astor.

I am, gentlemen, with respect, yours,

JOHN JACOB ASTOR

638. A g. pf. addl. Keys.

Messrs. Broadwood and Sons²¹⁹

Broadwood's letter commented, 'The original John Jacob Astor did a large business with us... Whatever Astor ordered, and as we have said he ordered largely, he paid for, the invoices being delivered to his brother, George Astor, a flute-maker in Cornhill'. So evidently John Jacob kept on dealing in pianos for a while after he stopped advertising them.

Now let us return to George's career in London. The address 26 Wych Street is found on a surviving clarinet by George Miller (see below). Byrne suggested: 'It is possible that he was of German extraction and that he attracted other German immigrants to work with him, indeed that he was the maker with whom George Astor first worked on his arrival in England'.²²⁰ We do not know exactly when Astor arrived in London but, like his younger brother, he is unlikely to have had any

²¹⁶ Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 1027.

²¹⁷ 5 May 1788, *Daily Advertiser*: 'an elegant assortment of PIANO FORTES....'; repeated 6, 8, 10 May; 28 October 1788, *New-York Packet*: 'J. JACOB ASTOR ... just received per the ship Ann from London, an assortment of PIANO-FORTES of different kinds, made by the best makers in London'; 30 December 1788, *Daily Advertiser*: 'an assortment of Piano Fortes, of the newest construction, Made by the best makers in London'; repeated 2–3, 5–9, 12–13, 17, 19–20, 23–24, 26–29 January 1789.

²¹⁸ Parton, 'John Jacob Astor', 314, *Life of John Jacob Astor*, 40.

²¹⁹ 'The House of Astor. 'To the Editor of The Times', *Times*, 26 February 1890, 10.

²²⁰ *New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, s.v. 'Miller, George', by Maurice Byrne.

trade besides butchering at the time.²²¹ The Astor biographies observe that George 'is said to have had an uncle connected in some capacity with the musical-instrument manufacturing firm of Shudi & Broadwood',²²² and which is likely to have given him employment at first. Later he did manufacture pianos. Nevertheless, an apprenticeship with a woodwind maker such as Miller is highly probable, especially as both used a unicorn head in their maker's mark. By 1777 Miller had left Wych Street, so he may have passed on the workshop to Astor.

In advertisements Wych Street without a number is first associated with Astor in *World*, 2 December 1791, when he was one of the ticket sellers for a charity performance of Handel's *Messiah*. He himself did not advertise until four years later, in *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 9 January 1795, when he announced that he 'WANTED, A PERSON well-acquainted with the CONSTRUCTION of STEAM ENGINES, who would undertake the Management of one for a Term of Years. He will meet with liberal encouragement, by applying to George Astor, No. 26, Wych-street, St. Clements'. Were the engines used in the manufacture of pianos?

In *Morning Chronicle*, 8 July 1795, Astor sought to introduce himself to the military market as an agent and instrument seller:

MILITARY BANDS OF MUSIC

OFFICERS of the ARMY and NAVY may be immediately supplied with complete sets of Instruments for a Band, with good Musicians to play the same, at GEORGE ASTOR's, Musical Instrument-maker, No. 26 Wych-street, St. Clement's, who keeps always ready for their inspection an Assortment of well-tuned and properly-seasoned Instruments; consisting of Clarionets, Hautboys, Flutes, Fifes, Bassoons, Serpents, Tamborines, Drums, Trumpets, French-horns, Bugle-horns, Triangles, and Cymbals equal to those made in Turkey.

Several good Masters for teaching Bands to be heard of as above. Likewise some capital French Harps.

A similar advertisement in *Morning Chronicle*, 25 April 1796, mentions 'complete sets of instruments warranted well in tune, of fine seasoned wood, and finished in the best manner'.

Later that year, in *Telegraph*, 25 October, his naturalization was publicized: 'HOUSE OF COMMONS. Monday, Oct. 14... A message was received from the [House of] Lords, announcing that they had given their assent to the bill for the naturalization of George Astor, Esq.'

Astor evidently succeeded in his attempt to woo the military, for in *Telegraph*, 20 December 1796, he advertised from his new premises:

ASTOR and CO.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENT MAKERS TO HIS MAJESTY'S ARMY,

No. 69 [recte 79], CORNHILL, MANUFACTURE and sell Wholesale, Retail, and for Exportation, Organs, Harpsichords, grand and small Piano Fortes, Violincellos, Violins, Drums, Tambourines, and Wind Instruments of every description. Music sold, printed, and published. Importers of Pedal Harps, Roman Strings, and German Wire.

Regiments supplied with complete Setts of Military Instruments, and Musicians provided.

Instruments let on hire, repaired, and tuned in Town and Country.

ASTOR and Co. beg leave to acknowledge their obligations to their friends, for their former favours, and respectfully inform them, that they have removed from their late Manufactory in Wych-street.²²³

In a similar advertisement in *Times*, 6 June 1798, Astor, describing himself as 'Musical Instrument-maker, and Music Seller ... respectfully begs leave to inform the Officers of his Majesty's Army, and the Public in general, that he has always ready for sale a large Assortment of Military Musical Instruments of every description, made of good seasoned wood, and the best materials, complete sets of which,

²²¹ O'Loughlin's statement that Astor made 'an initial visit to London' before he 'decided to establish a business there' is unsupported by the sources he cites. *International Genealogical Index* says, without a source, that Astor married Elizabeth in London in 1777.

²²² Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 1027. John Broadwood married Burkat Shudi's daughter in 1769 and became a partner in the firm the following year. *Grove Music Online*, s.v., 'Broadwood', by Derek Adlam and Cyril Ehrlich; accessed 6 January 2009. The story about Astor is perpetuated by the letter from John Broadwood and Sons to *The Times*, 26 February 1890, relating to George and John Jacob: 'The uncle of both may have been at one time in the employment of our house'.

²²³ Astor's expansion into music publishing, listed by O'Loughlin as having happened 'By 1800', is confirmed by an advertisement in *The Observer*, 25 June 1797, for a collection of 'Twenty-two Songs and Glees, upon different subjects, written by Mr. [William] Wennington, and adapted to music by various modern Composers' (not listed in RISM).

for a Band, may be had at an hour's notice. Also a new-invented Sliding Horn, which, by the addition of one crook only, tunes it in all the keys, and is a most desirable acquisition...' Although hardly new, this instrument may simply have been the Inventionshorn, 'the work of Charles Clagget ... who united 2 instruments, one in D and the other in E \flat , in such a way that the player had both at command

and could thus gain the advantage of the full chromatic scale. Clagget's work, patented 1788, was made possible by the invention, by the horn player Hampel of Dresden, of curved sliding crooks called "inventions", hence the name'.²²⁴

Two months later, in *Morning Herald*, 1 August 1798, Astor listed his 'low prices' for the military instruments:

Best Clarionets, per pair	4 guineas	usually sold for	5
Best Bassoons, per pair	8 ditto	-----	10
Trump. Tops to Bassoons	4 ditto	-----	5
Concert Horns	16 ditto	-----	20
Ditto with Slides	20 ditto	-----	26
Concert Trumpet	5 ditto	-----	6
Serpent, with case	8 ditto	-----	12
Cymbals	4 ditto	-----	6
Bugle Horns	3 ditto	-----	4
Tambourine, with Bells	4 ditto	-----	5
Bass Drum	6 to 8 ditto	-----	8 to 10
And every other Article in the Musical Line, at a saving to the Public from 15 to 25 per cent.			

The 'trump[et] tops to bassoons'—expensive at the same price as a pair of clarinets—were extra metal bells with a wide flair. Whitehead and Myers note: 'There is ... an eight-keyed bassoon with brass keys and mounts bearing the stamp of George Astor ... in Ridlington Church, Oakham, with a copper bell by John Köhler, inscribed near the rim "John Köhler Maker Whitcomb Street London". The bell is probably an example of a "Bassoon top" as listed and depicted ... on Köhler's trade card'.²²⁵ Köhler occupied that address in 1786–93.²²⁶ The card, enclosed with a bill in 1795, states that he 'Makes German post horns, Bugal horns, Bassoon tops, &c. in Silver, Brass and Copper... No. 89 St. James's Street, London'.²²⁷ A separate brass bell has been preserved with a four-keyed bassoon by the Dutch

maker Wilhelmus Wyne (1730–1816) of Nijmegen.²²⁸ Some light is shed on the purpose of the trumpet top by a letter written around 1798 by John Pearce, a 'carver' (stone mason) in Frampton, Gloucestershire, to Nathaniel Winchcombe, Esq., lord of the manor, concerning instruments he needed for the Frampton Volunteers. He asks that Winchcombe 'order ... the Bassoons [to] have Trumpet Bell tops and common tops to use occasionally which will render them fit for concerts or Church Music when wanted—the Trumpet tops to correspond with the Horns &c'.²²⁹

A repeat of Astor's advertisement in *Star*, 4 August 1798, added 'N.B. Good Musicians recommended'. And a parallel advertisement in the same newspaper, 18 August, gave discounted prices for keyboard instruments, 'manufactured by him':

²²⁴ *Oxford Dictionary of Music*, s.v., 'Inventionshorn'; accessed 7 February 2009. For Clagget's patent, see *Patents for Inventions*, 22.

²²⁵ Lance Whitehead and Arnold Myers, 'The Köhler Family of Brasswind Instrument Makers', *Historic Brass Society Journal* 16 (2004): 91.

²²⁶ Loc. cit.

²²⁷ Reproduced in Whitehead and Myers, 'Köhler Family', 90.

²²⁸ Bouterse, *Dutch Woodwind Instruments*, 549–50; illustrated in Rob van Acht, Jan Bouterse and Piet Dhont, *Niederländische Doppelrohrblattinstrumente des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts = Dutch Double Reed Instruments of the 17th and 18th Centuries: Sammlung = Collection Haags Gemeentemuseum* (Laaber: Laaber-Verlag, 1997), 237, 241.

²²⁹ Gloucestershire Archives, Frampton Volunteers D149/X21/15.

As sold by G. Astor.	By other houses.
Grand Piano Fortes, with additional keys, 55 guineas	70 guineas
Ditto ditto ditto, without ditto ditto 50, ditto	65 ditto
Small ditto ditto, with Patent, or double action, and additional keys, 22 ditto	30 ditto
Ditto ditto ditto ditto, without ditto, 20 ditto	26 ditto
Ditto ditto, ditto with common action, and additional keys, 18 ditto	24 ditto
Ditto ditto ditto, ditto without ditto, 16 ditto	20 ditto
Twenty-one Keyed Organ with Drum and Triangle, four stops, and three barrels, 28 ditto	38 ditto
Fifteen ditto ditto, ditto ditto, three stops, and three barrels, 20 ditto	25 ditto

Astor gives more details of some of the pianos in *Times*, 9 May 1799: 'his new and much-improved Piano Fortes, with Patent or Double Action, and additional Upper Notes to F in Alt, being an octave higher than the usual scale, and possessing a superior brilliancy and sweetness of tone'.

On 3 November 1798 in *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, Astor announced: 'REAL FINE TURKEY BOX WOOD. UPWARDS of Twenty Tons, from six to fifteen inches diameter, to be Disposed of'. We should not take this as evidence that he was abandoning box for some harder wood: according to Young, all surviving Astor fifes, piccolos, flutes, oboes, and clarinets are made of box.²³⁰

Humphries and Smith state that in the period c1798–1814 Astor had two addresses, 79 Cornhill and 27 Tottenham Street, Fitzroy Square.²³¹ We have already seen that the move to Cornhill took place in late 1796. The first advertisement to include the second address in Tottenham Street was in *Star*, 15 November 1798. It reinforced the promise: 'Regiments furnished with complete Sets of Instruments in one hour's notice'. Astor now described himself as 'MANUFACTURER of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, and MUSIC-SELLER to their Majesties, and their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Dukes of York and Clarence'.

The Burney Collection includes the following catalogue, which the database dates 1799. On internal evidence that dating is probable, as the catalogue is virtually identical to another actually imprinted '1799', in which case the first version may have been produced to mark the expansion to the second address. It shows in remarkable detail what the well-appointed instrument manufacturer and dealer was selling (see facing page):²³²

Flutes pitched a second, third, and fourth above

the standard instrument in D (sometimes extended to C) are already mentioned in an American advertisement of more than twenty years earlier:

22 November 1777, *New-York Loyal Gazette*

Musical Instruments. The following are the Particulars of those lately imported, and to be sold by J. Rivington...

German Flutes with extra middle Pieces,
Second German Flutes
Third German Flutes
Fourth German Flutes

...

English, or common Concert Flutes,
English, second Concert Flutes,
English, third Concert Flutes,
English, fourth Concert Flutes...

Flutes from a second to an octave higher, even including a seventh, are listed in the catalogue of Goulding, Phipps, & D'Almaine of 1800, cited below. That catalogue even includes English flutes (recorders) in six sizes. For comments on the flageolets, see under Goulding below.

The differentiation between 'Italian' and 'English' oboes in Astor's catalogue (and also that of Goulding, Phipps, & D'Almaine, 1800) is probably equivalent to that between London (bulb-top) and country (straight-top) oboes observed by Adkins (see above). The 'vox-humana' could have been an English horn by this date, as such an instrument was introduced four years earlier by Ferlendis (see above).

Despite being so comprehensive, Astor's catalogue did not include two instruments he began to advertise in 1799–1800. Waterhouse notes that the Frenchman Louis Alexandre Frichot (1760–1825) in the 'Early 1790s came to London as player of

²³⁰ Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 7–9.

²³¹ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, s.v. 'Astor (George)'.

²³² A preface to the version imprinted 1799 lists discount prices for pianos and key'd organs, and gives details of the grand, upright, and patent pianos, barrel organs, and 'tamborins'.

A CATALOGUE OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS MANUFACTURED AND SOLD BY GEORGE ASTOR, No. 79, Cornhill, and No. 27, Tottenham-Street, Fitzroy-Square, London. Regiments furnished with complete sets of Military Instruments, and good Musicians recommended...	A Flagelet	C ditto, 1 Piece
	A French Flagelet	C ditto, 3 Ferrels
	A Bassoon with extra Keys	C ditto, 2 ditto
	Ditto, common	C ditto, plain
	Ditto, Trumpet Top	D ditto, 1 Piece
	Tipp'd B Clarionet	D ditto, 2 ditto
	Ditto C ditto	B Fifes with Key
	Ditto D ditto	C Fife, with Key
Finger Organs	A plain B Clarinet	German Flute Mouth-piece
Barrel ditto, with Drum and Triangle	Ditto C ditto	Bass Bows, lapp'd, Ivory Nuts
Grand Piano Fortes, with and without the Additional Keys	A Basset Horn	Ditto Screw Bows, wood ditto
French Pedal Harps	French Horns, Concert English	Tenor ditto, Ivory Nuts, lapp
Piano-Forte Guitars	E ditto	Violin ditto, ditto
Spanish Guitars	Concert Trumpet, with Crooks	Ditto, not lapp'd
Eolian Harps, newly improved	E Flat ditto	Ditto, Screw Bows, Wood Nuts
Double Basses	Foreign Concert Horns	Common ditto, 28 Inches
Violoncellos	E ditto	Rosin Boxes, Bone and Wood
Tenors	E Flat Trumpets	Ditto Rolls
Violins from 7s. 6d. to 50 guineas	A Serpent, and Case	Brass Mutes
Kitts and small Violins	Kettle Drums, for an Orchestra	Ivory ditto
A Flute, tipp'd with Ivory, 6 silver Keys, and extra Joints	Ditto, for a Regiment	Wood ditto
Ditto, 5 silver Keys	A large Brass Drum	Best Violin Pegs
Ditto, 4 ditto	A common ditto	Ditto, common
Ditto, 6 Brass ditto, and extra Joints	Army Tambourine, with Bells	Cover'd Guitar Strings
Ditto, 5 ditto	Tambourine for Ladies	Harpichord and Piano Forte Wire
Ditto, 4 ditto	Cymbals, per pair	Bass Bridges
Ditto, 1 Silver ditto	Tabor Drums	Violin ditto
Ditto, 1 Brass ditto	Triangle, large	Tenor ditto
A Plain Flute	Ditto, small	Common Violin Bridges
Ditto, 2d ditto	Bugle Horn, large	French Horn Mouth-piece
Ditto, 3d ditto	Ditto, small	Trumpet, and Bugle Horn, ditto
Ditto, 4th ditto	Tipp'd Italian Hautboy, silver Keys	Tuning Forks
Ditto, 5th ditto	Ditto, Brass ditto	Best ditto, Hammers
Ditto, 6th ditto	Plain ditto, Silver ditto	Common ditto, ditto
Ditto, Octave	Ditto, Brass ditto	Ruling Pens
Ditto, English Concert Flute	English Hautboy, tipp'd, silver Keys	Best Bassoon Reeds
Ditto, 2d ditto	Ditto, Brass ditto	Hautboy ditto, ditto
Ditto, 3d ditto	Plain ditto, ditto	Clarinet ditto, ditto
Ditto, 4th ditto	Vox-humana	Black Ebony Tail-pieces, for Violoncellos
Ditto, 5th ditto	Tenoroon	Violin ditto, ditto
Ditto, 6th ditto	A Fife, 1 Piece	Irish Bagpipes
Ditto, Octave ditto	1 ditto, 3 Ferrels	Scotch ditto, large
A Tabor Pipe	B ditto, 1 Piece	Ditto, small
	B ditto, 3 Ferrels	Music Desks of all Sizes
	B ditto, 2 ditto	

serpent; a1800 had a bass-horn built for him by George Astor ... for which in 1800 he published a fingering chart'.²³³ His source of information was a book by Constant Pierre (1890), which reported that 'this bass horn was conceived by Frichot during his sojourn in London, where he went as a refugee at the beginning of the Revolution. In 1800, he published in this city, a description of his instrument in a kind of method entitled *A complete scale and gammut of the bass-horn, a new instrument, invented by M. Frichot, and manufactured by J. [sic] Astor*'.²³⁴ Frichot is listed in Doane's *A Musical Directory* (1794, p. 25) under 'Frishot, *Serpent*'. The so-called bass-horn was 'an early variety of upright serpent'.²³⁵ 'A fine specimen, signed by Astor & Co. and dated 1807, is in F-Pc'.²³⁶ We can now move back the dates of the instrument and its fingering chart one year, as the following advertisement in *Morning Chronicle*, 29 November 1799, attests:

NEW INVENTED BASS HORN.

GEORGE ASTOR respectfully begs leave to recommend to the Officers of his Majesty's Army and Loyal Volunteer Associations, a new invented BASS HORN, which independent of its elegant appearance, produces a most astonishing and powerful Bass, far superior to the Serpents now in use; from its clearness of tones also, and being manufactured of Copper and Brass, insures its certain durability of keeping in tune, in all climates and changes of weather, and is very light in carriage; the decided superiority it possesses over other Bass Instruments, has already induced several Regiments to Introduce the same, being a most valuable Acquisition to Military and other Bands of Music.

Specimens of the above, with a Scale, shewing the fingering and use of the Keys, may be seen at his Warehouse, No. 79, Cornhill, London, where may be had, complete Sets of Military Instruments, made of the best materials, on the shortest notice.

N.B. Several good Masters of reputation, also

a complete Military Band, that can be well recommended.

The bass-horn was not exclusive to Astor, as William Napier advertised it on 22 November 1800, although it was unknown to Goulding, Phipps, & D'Almaine that same year (see below).

Morning Chronicle, 4 April 1800, announced: 'NEW-INVENTED BUGLE HORN, which, by the improvement of Finger-holes and Keys, may be performed on, in any Key of Music, with facility and ease, the Tones being much superior to those now in use, and is of handsome appearance. Made and Sold by G. ASTOR...' Three months later, in the *Morning Chronicle*, 14 July 1800, he added the two new instruments to an advertisement addressed to the military:

To the OFFICERS of his MAJESTY'S ARMY
GEORGE ASTOR begs leave to inform the Officers of his Majesty's Army, that he has now ready for sale a large assortment of Military Musical Instruments of every description, warranted to be well in tune, and made of the best materials; complete Sets of which for a Band, may be had at an hour's notice; also the new invented Bugle Horn and Brass [sic] Horn, No. 79, Cornhill, London. N.B. Several Music Masters of good abilities that can be well recommended.

In *Star*, 30 July 1800, he appended an important detail: 'The new invented Bass Horn; also the Bugle, (an Octave higher) with a Scale for both, may be had, as above'. These references to a keyed bugle are an astonishing find, which I explore in a separate article, where I suggest that both instruments may have been made for Astor by John Köhler I (1753/4–1801), who has a known connection with Astor, as mentioned above.²³⁷ The earliest previous reference to a keyed bugle has been Joseph Halliday's patent for such an instrument, 'Halliday's [sic] Improvements in the Musical Instrument called the Bugle Horn',

²³³ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 124.

²³⁴ 'Ce cor-basse avait été imaginé par Frichot pendant le séjour qu'il fit à Londres, où il s'était réfugié dès le commencement de la Révolution. En 1800, il publia dans cette ville, une description de son instrument dans une sorte de méthode intitulée....' Constant Pierre, *La facture instrumentale à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889: notes d'un musicien sur les instruments à soufflé humain nouveaux & perfectionnés* (Paris: Librairie de l'Art Indépendant, 1890), 291.

²³⁵ *Grove Music Online*, s.v., 'Bass-horn', by Reginald Morley-Pegge and Anthony C. Baines (revised); accessed 23 January 2009.

²³⁶ *Grove Music Online*, s.v., 'Frichot, Louis Alexandre', by Howard Mayer Brown and Stephen J. Weston; accessed 23 January 2009.

²³⁷ David Lasocki, 'New Light on the Early History of the Keyed Bugle. Part 1: The Astor Advertisement and Collins v. Green', *Historic Brass Society Journal* 21 (2009).

granted on 5 May 1810.²³⁸

Waterhouse notes that Astor ‘had from c1807–c1811 an organ manufactory at the address below; his partner identifiable with John Lucas... MARK: “Astor & Lucas, 62 Sun St., London”’.²³⁹ The following advertisement in *Times*, 28 October 1800, shows that Astor had already opened such a factory seven years earlier, and it includes his claim that the keyed bugle had already become popular:²⁴⁰

... Geo. Astor, Manufacturer of Grand and small Piano Fortes, Finger and Barrel Organs with Drum and Triangle, Violoncellos, Violins, Drums, Tambourines, Horns, Trumpets, Serpents, Bassoons, Clarinets, Oboes, Flutes, Scots and Irish Bagpipes, Musical Instrument-maker to his Majesty’s Army, and Music Seller, wholesale, retail, and for exportation; Importer of Pedal Harps, Roman Strings, and German Wire; Merchants and Captains supplied on the shortest notice, at No. 27, Tottenham-street, Fitzroy-square; the Royal Manufactory, Sun-street, Bishopsgate-street, and No. 79, Cornhill; where are for sale several of the new invented Bass Horns, which, independent of its elegant appearance, produces a most astonishing and powerful Bass, far superior to the Serpents now in use, being manufactured of copper and brass, insures its certain durability, and keeping in tune in all climates and changes of weather. The decided superiority it possesses over other Bass Instruments, has already induced several Regiments to introduce the same, being a most valuable acquisition to Military and other Bands of Music. Also, the new-invented Finger’d Bugle Horn, now so much in use.

Astor rarely advertised after 1800—only the import of ‘Roman violin and harp-strings’ in *Times*, 8 August 1806—and he died in December 1813. Waterhouse remarks: ‘1813 his widow successor, c1814–1819 in partnership with Horwood as Astor & Horwood;

1824–1827 also in partnership with Gerock as “Gerock & Astor”; 1830 last directory listing’.²⁴¹ The advertisements and other sources relating to the family, however, present a more complex picture.

On 16 September 1801, a Thomas Singleton was acquitted of stealing, two months earlier, ‘two clarinets, value £3 3s., the property of George Astor, George Horwood, and Benjamin Banks, in their dwelling house’.²⁴² On 12 January 1803, Thomas Skinner, aged 45, was indicted for stealing eight pieces of wood, value 10s., the property of Astor, Horwood, and Banks.²⁴³ Banks swore he was ‘a musical instrument maker, in partnership with George Astor and George Horwood, in Sun-street; the prisoner was a servant in our house’. Later he testified that Skinner ‘was a servant before I was in the partnership. I have been in the partnership nearly two years’. The Astor involved in the case, however, was George’s eponymous son (1779–1832),²⁴⁴ who testified: ‘I knew it to be the wood of Astor and Company from the quality and size of it. I am in the habit of frequenting the factory; I have the management of the business of that factory; it is called aire wood, it is used for veneering’. Skinner was found guilty and transported for seven years.

In *London Gazette*, 8 April 1809, the following noticed appeared: ‘The Partnership between George Astor, George Horwood, and Benjamin Banks, of Cornhill, in the City of London, Musical Instrument-Manufacturers, was this Day dissolved.—Witness our Hands the 23rd of March 1809. G. Astor. Geo. Horwood. Benj. Banks’. George Junior had clearly entertained hopes of going into business with his father, but a notice in *London Gazette*, 5 December, shows they were dashed: ‘Cornhill, London, December 4, 1809. The Partnership which was in Contemplation between the undersigned, has not taken place. George Astor. Geo. Astor, jun. Geo. Horwood’. That same year, George Junior, ‘gent.’,

²³⁸ A printed version published in 1856, but referring to 1810, reproduced in Ralph T. Dudgeon, *The Keyed Bugle*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 15; see also *Patents for Inventions*, 61.

²³⁹ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 12.

²⁴⁰ Moreover, Astor took out a fire insurance policy on property at ‘North side of the Open Space, Sun Street, Bishopsgate Street’ in 1802; Guildhall Library, Ms. 11936/423/727697.

²⁴¹ Loc. cit. Waterhouse is more accurate than Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, who did not know Astor’s death date and therefore have him rather than his widow in partnership with Horwood, then Gerock. Waterhouse himself slipped in his entry on Gerock in saying ‘in partnership with George Astor ... as “Gerock, Astor & Co.”’

²⁴² *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 16 September 1801. The report appends, curiously: ‘Second Count. Charging it to be the dwelling-house of George Astor and George Horwood. Third Count. Charging it to be the dwelling-house of George Horwood’.

²⁴³ *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 12 January 1803.

²⁴⁴ Year of birth given without source in *International Genealogical Index*; death date from Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 1028.

took out fire insurance on 1 Brunswick Place, City Road.²⁴⁵ Three years later, described as 'late of Cornhill ... Merchant', he was declared bankrupt, as first reported in *London Gazette*, 9 February 1813; he went quickly through the proceedings, his certificates being confirmed on 30 March.

George Astor Senior made his Will on 10 January 1803, adding codicils on 5 April 1808 and 1 November 1813.²⁴⁶ The Will was proved on 6 December 1813, presumably shortly after his death, and his brother-in-law Joseph Wright wrote to John Jacob Astor on the seventeenth to tell him the news.²⁴⁷ The executors of the Will had originally been Astor's wife Elizabeth née Wright; her brother Joseph of Hyde Street, Bloomsbury, gentleman; Benjamin Banks, described as Astor's 'partner', and a friend, Thomas Dobson, pawnbroker. The Will gives Astor's profession as Musical Instrument Manufacturer, and his home address as Mat[t]hews Place, Hackney Road, an area of Cambridge Heath in Bethnal Green that had been developed since 1792.²⁴⁸ He mainly bequeaths his property to his wife, after her death to be divided equally among their children after age 21. He states his 'will that my said wife shall be at liberty to continue my trade or business in the same manner that I have carried on the same and for that purpose to employ such part of my property as may be necessary without being responsible for the risque attached to so doing and to take to her own use the profits thereof'.

By the writing of the first codicil in 1808 Astor had removed to Clapton Passage, Clapton. He mentions that since making the Will he has 'purchased a certain share in the freehold messuage or tenement and premises in Cornhill wherein my business is carried out and also certain lands in America in the neighborhood of New York or elsewhere'. The Will and the first codicil were both witnessed by George Horwood, and the codicil was also witnessed by Mary Horwood, probably George's wife. By the following year, Astor had apparently removed again: he took out a fire insurance policy on 4 Trafalgar Place, Hackney Road.²⁴⁹

In the second codicil in 1813, Astor removes Banks and Dobson as executors, replacing them with 'my friend William Dittmer of Marylebone Street Middlesex Piano Forte maker'. George W. Dittmer & Son are known as piano makers from around 1810 to 1849. Clinkscale notes 'Their address was probably Magdalene Street, Fitzroy Square, during the years from 1810 to 1815. An apparently later piano suggests a move to Upper Mary-le-bone Street, Fitzroy Square'.²⁵⁰ Astor's codicil establishes that Dittmer was known to his friends by his middle name and had to removed to Marylebone Street by 1813.

Astor also takes out his son George as beneficiary: 'it is my will that the trusts of my said will shall not be deemed to extend to my son George Astor but shall be carried into effect in favor of all my other children as though he had never been born'. Clearly he had quarreled with Junior, perhaps because of the son's poor head for business. Porter states: 'George Astor, Jr., who has often been confused with his father, came to the United States shortly before the War of 1812 and was employed by his uncle in fur-trade transactions in Canada and the Great Lakes region in the years 1813–14. After the war, he set up in the fur trade for himself'.²⁵¹ He could not, however, have left for America before the end of his bankruptcy proceedings on 24 April 1813.

Not only the War of 1812 but perhaps also George Junior played some part in the financial setbacks that George experienced a year or two before his death, as relayed in John Jacob's letter to Wright:

the last letter which I have received from him was dated the 15th of May, in that letter he stated to me the many losses which he had met with, say to extent of £1000 Stlg. in the course of one year. I remitted to him on the 1st of Octbr. last 2 bills for £500 each & on the 19th of Decr. one for £1000 more making together £2000; on the day before yesterday I wrote & enclosed a bill for one thousand pounds more, which will go by this opportunity this was intended in advance as he expressed a want in his last letter to me... I understand

²⁴⁵ Guildhall Library, Ms. 11936/446/834880.

²⁴⁶ National Archives, PROB 11/1550–577.

²⁴⁷ The response by John Jacob Astor, dated 14 February 1814, is transcribed in Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 550–52.

²⁴⁸ See *A History of the Country of Middlesex, Volume 11: Early Stepney with Bethnal Green*, ed. T. F. T. Baker, The Victoria History of the Counties of England (Oxford: Published for the Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press, 1998), 109–12.

²⁴⁹ Guildhall Library, Ms. 11936/446/834234.

²⁵⁰ Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, 84.

²⁵¹ Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 1027.

that some goods which he shipp'd since the war has been seized & is or will be condemned.²⁵²

George's North American property is also mentioned by John Jacob: 'some claims in Philadelphia, to what extent I do not know... I take it for granted that his family know of his having some Wild lands in Lower Canada I think 10000 acres which he had from me ... worth 1500 or two thousand pounds Sterling'.²⁵³

John Jacob, who presumably did not know that George had encouraged his widow Elizabeth to stay in the business, wrote to Wright in his unorthodox prose style: 'I think my brother could not have done better with his property than to place it in the hand of Mrs. Astor who I am sure will take good care of it & having you at hand she cannot want good advice. I presume she will not think of carrying on the business if possible to avoid it & to keep what little property she may have & not risk it in strange hands, you may make it still less'.²⁵⁴ Before linking up with Horwood she may have tried to go it alone, as she took out a fire insurance policy as 'Elizabeth Astor, 79 Cornhill, musical instrument maker' on some property in Artillery Court, Chiswell Street, in 1814.²⁵⁵ On the other hand, 'Messrs. Astor and Horwood, music-sellers, Cornhill' are cited as creditors of 'Thomas Smith, subscription and coffee-room keeper, late of the Carlton Rooms, Princess-Street, Leicester-Square' in *London Gazette*, 21 June 1814.

Elizabeth dissolved her partnership with Horwood 'by mutual consent' on 24 June 1818, as reported in *London Gazette* on the 30th. She then evidently went into partnership with her son William Henry (b. 1787–p1838)²⁵⁶ and John Lucas, as witnessed by a notice of their break-up on 4 November 1822 (*London Gazette*, 5 November): 'The Partnership trade or business of Musical Instrument Manufacturers and Dealers in Music, heretofore carried on by us, in Cornhill, in the City of London, in Sun-Street, and in Tottenham-Street, Tottenham Court-Road, in the county of Middlesex, under the firm of Astor and Company, was this day dissolved by us'. In 1819, Elizabeth, 'musical instrument maker', took

out fire insurance on property described as both Haberdashers Walk, Hoxton, and adjoining the Haberdashers Almshouses, Pitfield Street, Hoxton—probably where she was living.²⁵⁷

William Henry then went into partnership with Lucas, but it lasted a mere three months: 'The Partnership trade or business of Musical Instrument-Manufacturers, heretofore carried on by us in Sun-Street, in the City of London, under the firm of Astor and Lucas, was this day dissolved by us ... 7th day of February 1823' (*London Gazette*, 15 February). This is presumably the partnership that Waterhouse had placed in the period c1807–c1811 and associated with George Astor. Five months later, William Henry, described as 'of Sun-Street ... Musical Instrument-Manufacturer', was declared bankrupt (*London Gazette*, 22 July). His certificate was confirmed on 22 November.

One Thomas Pearson was found not guilty at the Old Bailey of stealing a mahogany board, value 10s., from Robert Booth, his master, on 12 November 1823. Booth testified that he 'was employed by the assignees of Mr. Astor, of Sun-street, to sell some property'. Astor testified that 'The premises were mine. I continued on them up to the time in question'.²⁵⁸

Freed from bankruptcy, William Henry tried his hand in business again: an advertisement in *Morning Chronicle*, 7 October 1824, refers to 'Mr. Astor's Music Warehouse, Lamb's Conduit-street'; and 'William Astor and Co. of 61 Lambs Conduit Street, wind instrument makers and music sellers' took out fire insurance policies the same year.²⁵⁹ Clinkscale reports a surviving piano bearing his name, remarking doubtfully, 'There exists no information at all about this maker; probably one of [Norman E.] Michel's errors'.²⁶⁰

But William Henry evidently went bankrupt again, because he appears in a notice from the Court for Relief of Insolvent Debtors whose petition was to be heard on 10 February 1826: 'Astor, William Henry, formerly of Warren-Street, Somers'-Town, then of Edmund-Street, Battle-Bridge, then of

²⁵² Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 550–51.

²⁵³ Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 551.

²⁵⁴ Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 551–52.

²⁵⁵ Guildhall Library, Ms. 11936/463/893270.

²⁵⁶ Year of birth without source in *International Genealogical Index*. In 1818, William Henry, 'gent.', took out fire insurance on property at 37 Moniers Street, Hoxton New Town. Guildhall Library, Ms. 11936/478/948698.

²⁵⁷ Guildhall Library, Mss. 11936/480/954884 and 11936/478/954563.

²⁵⁸ *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 3 December 1823.

²⁵⁹ Guildhall Library, Mss. 11936/478/948698, 11936/499/1016331, and 11936/499/1019691.

²⁶⁰ Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano*, 12.

Lamb's-Conduit-Street, Holborn, and of Ann-Street, Wilmington-Square, Spa-Fields, all in Middlesex, then of Cheapside, London, and late of New-Street, Covent-Garden, Middlesex, Musical Instrument-Maker' (*London Gazette*, 17 January). Waterhouse gives 3 Ann Street, Wilmington Square, as the last known address for Astor & Co., 1827–30, which firm he attributes to Elizabeth Astor. The dates and the attribution now seem suspect. In any case, William Henry soon took a cue from his older brother and emigrated to the United States. A New York directory for 1835–36 lists: 'Astor, William H. music teacher Avenue 6th c. Thirteenth'.²⁶¹ On 4 July 1836, John Jacob made him a bequest of \$10,000, changed on 19 January 1838 to \$500 a year.²⁶²

In his entry on Christopher Gerock, Waterhouse notes 'fl London 1804–1837. 1804 granted freedom of Musicians' Company as "son of Jacob Gerock of Ritzfield, Weinsberg, Germany, wine cooper, naturalized"; 1805 established... 1837 succeeded by Robert Wolf, pianoforte makers'. Gerock had arrived in London around 1795: he testified in a case at the Old Bailey on 28 October 1830: 'I have been thirty-five years in London'.²⁶³ 'Christopher A. Gerock, Esq. of Harley-place, Bow-road' died on 27 March 1850 in his 78th year, and thus had been born in 1772/3 (*Morning Chronicle*, 29 March 1850). Waterhouse lists Gerock only as a woodwind maker, although he observes: '1831 entered as a "small" worker his silver hallmark "CG" at Goldsmith's Hall'. Gerock does, however, seem to have made some brass instruments, as witness the following advertisement in *Times*, 6 December 1821:

FIVE GUINEAS REWARD.—Whereas, on Saturday night (1st Dec.), some Person or Persons did break open and enter the premises belonging to Mr. John Barnes, publican, Hand and Trumpet, Stone, Staffordshire, and STOLE therefrom a KENT BUGLE and a CONCERT TRUMPET, maker's name engraved on each, 'C. Gerock, 76, Bishopsgate-street, London', and also SIXTEEN POUNDS WEIGHT of BRASS MUSIC KEYS, in an unfinished state. Whoever will give information to John Barnes, or to C. Gerock, as above, of the offender or offenders, so that he or they may be

brought to justice, shall upon conviction receive the above-mentioned reward.—Dec. 2, 1821.

Waterhouse gives both 'c1824–27' and '1824–26' for Gerock, Astor & Co., then 1827–37 for C. Gerock & Co., at 79 Cornhill.²⁶⁴ That had been George Astor's address from 1796 until his death in 1813, then that of his widow, Elizabeth (at first with Horwood, 1814–18, then with William Henry and Lucas, dissolved 1822). The true dates of Elizabeth's partnership with Gerock, 1822–1826, are revealed by an advertisement that he placed in *Times*, 25 October 1826:

TO the MUSICAL WORLD.—C. GEROCK begs leave to inform his Friends and the Public, that having disposed of his premises (No. 76, Bishopsgate-street within), he has MOVED his STOCK and TRADE to No. 79, Cornhill, which he has occupied in the manufacture of musical instruments for the last 4 years (having succeeded the late Mr. Astor), and where he hopes for a continuation of those favours which have been so liberally bestowed on him during the 25 years he has carried on his business in the above-mentioned situation, and to express his confidence that no diminution will be found in the attention which has been hitherto exerted in the execution of their commands.—79, Cornhill, 28th September 1826.

There was no formal announcement of the dissolution of Gerock, Astor & Co., in *London Gazette*. Gerock remained at 79 Cornhill by himself until 1831. Then he went into a partnership that lasted only until 9 May 1832 with Robert Wolf, described in 1828 as a young man who was his employee and in 1834 as his son-in-law.²⁶⁵ After working alone for five years, Gerock retired to Harley Place (*Times*, 18 August 1837) and was succeeded by Wolf. In *Times*, 9 March 1837, Wolf was still invoking the memory of Astor when he advertised in relation to his own patent pianos: 'Robert Wolf & Co. solicit the favour of personal inspection at their ware rooms, (late Gerock, Astor, and Co's), 79, Cornhill'.²⁶⁶

Elizabeth Astor does not seem to have had any further partnerships after Gerock & Astor folded in 1826. In later years John Jacob took some care of

²⁶¹ *Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory*, cited in Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 1028 and 1076 n. 22.

²⁶² Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 1028.

²⁶³ *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 28 October 1830. Gerock observed of his maker's mark: 'there is an unicorn on the top of my name, and when I send any to a customer I put a star under my name'.

²⁶⁴ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 133.

²⁶⁵ *London Gazette*, 11 May 1832; *Morning Chronicle*, 11 April 1828; *Morning Chronicle*, 23 January 1834.

²⁶⁶ Wolf had taken out the patent on 6 November 1834; see *Patents for Inventions*, 117.

her financially: 'In Astor's will, dated July 4, 1836, Mrs. Elizabeth Astor was bequeathed "two hundred pounds sterling, yearly for her life", and this legacy was repeated in the codicil of January 19, 1838. In 1834 and 1837 Astor sent his brother's widow bills on London amounting to £500 and £200 sterling, respectively, apparently quite on his own initiative'.²⁶⁷ But when Elizabeth died in 1842, the Estate duty registers record: 'The whole of the estate lost in trade by the Executrix who died i[n]solvent'.²⁶⁸ (For a summary of the addresses with dates of members of the Astor family and their associates, see Appendix 2.)

George Miller (fl. 1770–91) and John Cramer (fl. 1790–1812)

Halfpenny observed that the address of 26 Wych Street for George Miller 'occurs uniquely and very indistinctly on a C clarinet bell in the Hague Collection at Glasgow University'.²⁶⁹ (We have already seen that in his early career George Astor worked at the same address.) Byrne established that Miller was working at 3 Dacre Street, Westminster, from 1777, but the rates were paid by Frederick Wolf in 1784–90, and John Cramer in 1790–96.²⁷⁰ According to a poll tax record, Miller did vote from that address on 1 August 1788.²⁷¹ Byrne noted that two surviving clarinets 'have the mark "Cramer / London / unicorn" on all joints except the bell which has: "successor / to / G. Miller London / unicorn"'. Miller himself had used the unicorn mark (and it was continued by the partnership of Cramer and Key). The following advertisement in *World*, 19 May 1791, shows that Cramer was not only the successor to Miller but had been his apprentice:

To the NOBILITY and GENTRY, my PATRONS, in particular, and the PUBLIC in general. I Beg leave most respectfully to inform them, that I have, from my great age and infirmities, thought proper to appoint Mr. JOHN CRAMER to carry on my business of a MUSICAL INSTRUMENT-MAKER and TURNER, at

No. 3, Dacre-street, Broadway, Westminster, he being a person duly qualified for that purpose, having been taught such business under my particular inspection; and I most humbly solicit for him the future favours of my kind friends and patrons. I beg leave also to assure them, that no other person whatever is authorised by me to carry on the said trade; and to caution them against any one who hath, or hereafter may, assume my name. It is also necessary for me to observe, that my future support is derived entirely from Mr. CRAMER. I have the honour to be, With the greatest deference and respect, Their most obedient humble servant, GEORGE MILLER. No. 3, Dacre-street, Westminster.

It therefore seems improbable that Miller was the man of that name who took out a patent on two-jointed fifes of a copper-brass alloy in 1810 and lived at 3 Panton Street, Haymarket, 1811–14.²⁷²

A surviving clarinet by Miller is dated 1770, establishing a terminus ante quem for his work.²⁷³ The following advertisement appeared in the *Daily Advertiser* on 13 February 1773:

TO Pawnbrokers. Stolen the 8th instant, supposed to be pawned, by a Man in red Clothing, a Clarinet, Maker's Name Miller, Number 3 on the large Key, a small Cut with a Knife. Whoever will give Information to George Bird, at the Queen's Head, in Knightsbridge, so that he may recover the abovesaid Clarinet, and bring the Offender to Justice, shall receive Half a Guinea Reward, by me GEORGE BIRD.

Waterhouse quotes the letter written around 1798 by John Pearce about the Frampton Volunteers to the effect that 'Cramer and Milhouse's Clarionets are said to be superior to all others'.²⁷⁴ He does not quote the lead-in sentences, which are even more revealing: 'I have not been able to procure Mr. Cramer's place of abode in London, but as he is reputed the first Musician in England should think he may be easily traced out. I have from the

²⁶⁷ Porter, *John Jacob Astor*, 1027.

²⁶⁸ National Archives IR-26-570. Information supplied by Byrne.

²⁶⁹ Eric Halfpenny, 'Early English Clarinets', *GSJ* 18 (1965): 44.

²⁷⁰ Maurice Byrne, 'George Miller and John Cramer', *GSJ* 19 (1966): 134–35; Cramer is also listed at that address as 'Inst Maker' in Doane's *A Musical Directory* (1794), 16.

²⁷¹ *London Music Trades* 1750–1800.

²⁷² Byrne had suggested that they may have been the same man; *New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, s.v. 'Miller, George'. On the patent, see *Patents for Inventions*, 64.

²⁷³ According to Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 275; not listed in Young, *4900 Historical Woodwind Instruments*, 165–66. Mathew Dart reports that 'the instruments are now in the Gloucestershire Folk Museum and consist of 2 clarinets and 2 bassoons, all by Goulding—no mention of "trumpet tops", 2 horns by George Henry Rodenbostel, and a bass drum and drumsticks' (e-mail message to the author, 25 February 2009).

²⁷⁴ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 75.

very best authority been told that he manufactures the best Wind Instruments in Europe—you may be supplied from the Shops of Longman and Brodrip Haymarket—who serve the Prince of Wales—or of Preston and Son N^o. 97 Strand, but wheresoever you procure them, Cramer and Milhouse's Clarionets are said to be superior to all others'.²⁷⁵

William Napier (1741–1812)

Waterhouse wrote of William Napier: '1800 "trumpet Maker to the Board of Ordnance" ... ?Identifiable with the music seller, publisher active c1772–1809, listed 1794 by Doane as "Violin, Viola, Music-Seller"'.²⁷⁶ The newspaper advertisements show that they were indeed the same man, who had an unusually broad career: violinist and violist, music publisher, music seller, instrument dealer, instrument manufacturer, and concert promoter.²⁷⁷

Napier had three different addresses in the eighteenth century: 1772–90, the corner of Lancaster Court, in the Strand, near Charing Cross; later called No. 474, Strand; 1791–99, No. 49, Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields; and 1800, No. 8, Lisle-street, Leicester-square. From 1783 to 1793 and again in 1800, he styled himself 'Music-seller to their Majesties'. He normally advertised only his music publications, but from time to time he mentioned instruments:

6 August 1774, *Public Advertiser*

W. Napier ... and all Sorts of the newest Music and Musical Instruments.

22 January 1780, *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*

REGIMENTAL MUSIC. WILLIAM NAPIER, No. 474, Strand, takes this opportunity of returning his most grateful thanks to the Gentlemen of the Army, for the many favours he has lately received from them, in being employed to furnish their Regiments with Musical Instruments.—He now begs leave to acquaint them, that he has with much industry procured an Assortment of the best CONCERT HORNS, which, by his method of manufacturing them, he has in his power to sell much cheaper than the ordinary selling prices of these instruments; and as his attention for some time past has been principally directed to obtain Regimental Instruments, &c. such Gentlemen as may in future please to favour him with their commands,

may depend upon being served in the best manner, and at the shortest notice.

26 February 1783, *Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*

... To be sold ... a variety of other instruments, by the best makers... Napier having considerably enlarged his shop, ladies and gentlemen having musical instruments, which they wish to dispose of, or exchange, may now have that opportunity free of expence.

11 March 1783, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*

... Instruments of all kinds exchanged and taken in for sale, and if not sold, or exchanged, no expence incurred.

16 February 1793, *World*

... W. Napier still continues to execute all Commissions in the Musical Line, with fidelity and dispatch.

Military Bands furnished with the best Instruments, warranted to stand any climate, and judicious Masters recommended.

12 June 1799, *True Briton*

TO MUSICIANS. WANTED a MUSICIAN, qualified to lead and teacher a Military Band of Music, in a Fencible Regiment of Foot.—For Particulars, inquire of Wm. Napier, No. 49, Great Queen-street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, where may be had Military Instruments well seasoned and tuned, by the best Masters, at the usual Prices.

Trumpets, Bugle Horns and Cymbals, manufactured in the best manner; the fifths on the Trumpets and Bugle Horns are perfectly in tune, which is seldom the case on those Instruments.

8 May 1800, *Sun*

... SIX SONATINAS for the Piano Forte... Composed by T. G. WILLIAMSON, And sold for the Author by Wm. Napier, No. 8, Lisle-street, Leicester-square, Music-seller to Their Majesties, Trumpet and Bugle Horn-maker to the Ordnance...

22 November 1800, *Sun*

MILITARY MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS. MR. NAPIER begs leave to inform Officers of the Army and Navy, and Gentlemen having Commissions from Abroad for MILITARY MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, that

²⁷⁵ Gloucestershire Archives, Frampton Volunteers D149/X21/15.

²⁷⁶ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 278; Doane, *A Musical Directory*, 46.

²⁷⁷ See *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* 10 (11984), s.v. 'Napier, William'; and *Grove Music Online*, s.v., 'Napier, William'; accessed 23 January 2009.

he has now for Sale a large and valuable Assortment manufactured in the best manner, and warranted to stand in tune in any climate. They consist of Clarionets, Bassoons, Concert and Bugle Horns, Trumpets, Trombones or Sackbuts, Bass Horns, Bass Drums, Cymbals, Tambourines, and Triangles, &c.

He has likewise great choice of Second-hand Instruments, fit for training a Band, or for the common use of one already formed.

Great variety of Military Music, and the best Masters and other Performers recommended; by applying to Mr. Napier, at his House, No. 8, Lisle-street, Music-Seller to Their Majesties, Trumpet and Bugle Horn-maker to the Ordnance, and Musician in Ordinary to the King.

On the bass horn, see above.

Biographical Dictionary of Actors states that 'During his last months at [the Strand] he suffered financial reverses and bankruptcy. On 5 December 1790 he informed the Governors of the Royal Society of Musicians that his goods that been taken in execution, that he was confined to the King's Bench, and that his wife and children were in extreme distress. The Governors granted him £8 14s. for that month... on 7 March 1791 [the Governors] ordered the allowance discontinued, inasmuch as Napier was now liberated and in good health'. His bankruptcy actually went back a few years earlier, being announced in *London Gazette*, 17 May 1788, although the final dividend was not declared until 5 April 1791. The bankruptcy notices all describe him as 'Musical Instrument-maker'.

William Bailey (fl. 1784)

At the Old Bailey on 21 April 1784, a flute maker named William Bailey, 42 St Martin-le-Grand, accused a young shoemaker and a boy of stealing 'one flute, called an English flute, value 4 s., and two fifes, value 1 s.' from his house. A witness said he saw 'the lads' go to an ironmonger's shop in Fleet Street to sell them, 'and they played on them to try them'. The lads were convicted of burglary, but not breaking and entering, and each sentenced to transportation for seven years.²⁷⁸

On 8 December the same year, a man was accused of robbing Bailey at pistol-point 'on the King's highway'. Bailey testified that he 'had been at General

Prevost's tuning a piano fort, and double harpsicord'. The man was sentenced to death.²⁷⁹

George Goulding (fl. 1785–1834)

The database of the Burney Collection should prove invaluable for adjusting the addresses and dates of London music publishers. George Goulding, who also sold and manufactured musical instruments, is a case in point. According to Humphries and Smith, Goulding was at '25 James Street, Covent Garden, c. 1786–87; The Haydn's Head, 6 James Street, Covent Garden, c. 1787–98. Had additional premises at 17 Great Turnstile, Holborn, 1787, and a selling agency at Samuel Bury and Co., Pianoforte makers and organ builders, 113 Bishopsgate Street within [the City] in 1788. Became Goulding, Phipps and D'Almaine early in 1798'.²⁸⁰ That partnership was of 'Military musical instrument makers, music sellers and publishers ... 45 Pall Mall, 1798–c. 1804, with additional premises at 76 St. James's Street, 1800–04...'²⁸¹

The first advertisement for Goulding is in the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 10 March 1785: 'G. Goulding, No. 25, James-street Covent-garden...' He was still there on 19 April 1787 (*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*), 'where every article in Musick may be had on the most reasonable terms'. His removal down the street must have happened almost at once, for on 25 May in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* he announced: 'George Goulding, at his Music Warehouse, No. 6, James-street, Covent-garden'. The next month he called the premises Haydn's Head, adding 'An Apprentice is wanted; a premium is expected' (*World and Fashionable Advertiser*, 25 June 1787).

In *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 11 February 1788, Goulding first demonstrated his association with Bury by appending to his address 'and Messrs. Bury and Co. No. 113, Bishopsgate-street Within' and advertising 'Of whom may be had, by his Majesty's letters patent, The Royal Concert Piano Forte, comprising the harpsichord, organ, dulcimer, harp and flute. As this instrument needs but to be heard to convince the public of its great superiority over every one yet offered to the public, G. Goulding takes the liberty of informing the nobility, gentry, and others, that he has provided an assortment of them for their inspection, he being the only vender of them at the west-end of the town'. Bury had been

²⁷⁸ *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 21 April 1784; Nex and Whitehead, 'Musical Instrument Making', 264, 267.

²⁷⁹ *Proceedings of the Old Bailey*, 8 December 1784; Nex and Whitehead, 'Musical Instrument Making', 264, 267.

²⁸⁰ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, s.v. 'Goulding (George)'.

²⁸¹ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, s.v. 'Goulding, Phipps & D'Almaine'.

granted less than a month earlier, on 15 January.²⁸²

That same year, Goulding was cited by a coach driver named Thomas Pyott in a modern-sounding medical testimonial (*Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 5 June 1788). Pyott had suffered from 'lowness of spirits, distress and horror of mind, inasmuch, that the hasty approach of any person, any noise, sudden occurrence, or melancholy event, filled me with terror. I lost my appetite, was restless, and could get very little sleep...' For ten years 'several trials of salt water, and other means, were used without effect'. Until, that is, 'Mr. Goulding, of James-street, Covent-Garden, recommended me to Doctor Brown, of Leicester-square, who had cured him of the same disorder, after a seven years trial elsewhere. Accordingly, I applied to the Doctor in September last, and found immediate relief; and by his care and skill, in one fortnight I ... was freed from all my old complaints, regained my lost appetite and rest, and now remain in good health and spirits.'

In *World*, 15 November 1788, Goulding skipped the reference to Bury but kept his address: 'George Goulding, Haydn's Head, No. 6, James-street, Covent-garden; and No. 113, Bishops-gate-street'. The same combined address is given in *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 4 March 1789. For the next two years, however, only the James Street address appears.

The removal to No. 45 Pall Mall happened slightly ahead of Goulding taking on partners, as it was mentioned under his name alone in *Morning Post and Gazetteer*, 9 November 1797. On 3 February 1798 in *Morning Chronicle*, Goulding dubbed himself for the first time 'Music-seller to her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales', a fitting appendage for his new upscale premises. Three months later, on 12 April in the same newspaper, the partnership with Phipps and Thomas D'Almaine was advertised: 'Goulding, Phipps, and D'Almaine, No. 45, Pall-mall'.²⁸³ On 4 January 1799 in *True Briton*, the firm added 'Music Sellers to Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales'; and on 29 August in *Sun* they announced themselves also as 'Real Manufacturers of Military and other

Musical Instruments', perhaps not coincidentally appending the Prince of Wales to the Princess. The additional premises at 76 St James' Street were first advertised on 22 February 1800 (*Sun*).

A surviving catalogue of the music published by the firm dated 1800 is prefaced by a three-page list of their instruments, showing the breadth of their offerings, similar to those of Astor (1799) cited above.²⁸⁴ The catalogue bears the legend 'N.B. the above Catalogues and Contents may be had of every Music Shop in Town and Country, and of most of the principal Booksellers in England, Scotland, and Ireland'. The surviving copy is inscribed by hand: 'To be had of E. Porter Leeds'. Leeds' first published directory in 1798 lists 'Porter, E. musician & musical instrument seller, Lower-head Row'. Note that this extensive catalogue does not mention the bass-horns or keyed bugles listed by Astor (see facing page).²⁸⁵

The statement about 'their new-invented Patent Clarinets' confirms the firm's association with James Wood, who took out a patent on 19 March 1800 for a clarinet with an additional key for G[#] and the holes covered by keys lined with tubes of wood, ivory, metal, etc.²⁸⁶ Although that association was not formally celebrated in the name of the firm until about 1813,²⁸⁷ Wood was clearly working for Goulding and his associates by 1800. F. Geoffrey Rendall already speculated that Wood 'was a considerable maker for the trade and especially for Goulding and D'Almaine; this is quite plain, I think, from study of the mouldings he puts on his clarinets and various other idiosyncracies'.²⁸⁸

Astor's catalogue had distinguished tersely between 'A Flageolet / A French Flageolet,' presumably the new English flageolet and its longstanding French counterpart. Goulding's catalogue calls the instruments by name. The idea of the English type was simple: a recorder ('English flute') was fitted with a sponge chamber similar to that of the French flageolet and given a new name to make it sound stylish.²⁸⁹ This ploy worked: the flageolet gained a new lease of life and became the duct flute of choice for the entire nineteenth century.

²⁸² *Patents for Inventions*, 20.

²⁸³ Phipps' first names are given as William Window, without source, in *London Music Trades 1750–1800*.

²⁸⁴ *Catalogue of Instrumental and Vocal Music, Engraved, Printed, and Published by Goulding, Phipps, and D'Almaine* (London: Printed by S. Gosnell, 1800), 2–4.

²⁸⁵ Alan Radford, 'The Leeds Waits'; <http://www.waits.org.uk/history/leeds.html>; accessed 28 January 2009.

²⁸⁶ *Patents for Inventions*, 35.

²⁸⁷ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, s.v., 'Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter & Co.'

²⁸⁸ Quoted in Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 435.

²⁸⁹ See Nikolaj Tarasov, 'Blockflöten im 19. Jahrhundert: Fiktion oder Wirklichkeit?' *Concerto* 22, no. 12 (December 2005–January 2006): 28–31.

LIST OF MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS	Do. do. Thirds, 4 brass do. tipt	Do. do. small
Manufactured by GOULDING, PHIPPS, AND D'ALMAINE, AND WARRANTED IN TUNE, At their MANUFACTORY, No. 76, ST. JAMES'S STREET;	Do. do. Thirds, plains	Hunting do. large
Where Gentlemen of the Army may be supplied with regular Sets of Instruments for a Military Band, upon the shortest notice, and where may be seen their new-invented Patent Clarinets, superior in Tone and Quality to any thing of the kind every offered to the Public.	Do. do. Fourths, do.	Do. do. small
	Do. do. Fifths, Sixths, Sevenths, and Octaves, do.	Kettle Drums for an Orchestra
	English Flutes, Concerts, plain	Do. do. for a Regiment
	Do. do. Seconds and Thirds	Large Bass Drums
	Do. do. Fifths, Sixths, and Octaves	Common Drums
	Bassoons with extra keys	Army tambourines, with Bells
	Do. common	Do. do. without do.
	Do. with trumpet top	Ladies' do. all sorts and sizes
	English Hautboy, tipt, silver keys	Cymbals for the Army
	Do. do. do. brass do.	Do. for Ladies
	Do. do. plain	Triangles for the Army
B CLARINETS, patent, tipt	Italian do. tipt, silver keys	Do. for Ladies
C do. do.	Do. do. do. brass do.	French Pedal Harps
E do. do.	Do. do. plain, silver do.	Piano Forte Guitars
B Clarinets, tips, ebony mouth-piece	Do. do. do. brass do.	Common do.
B do. do. box do.	Serpents with case	Eolian Harps improved
B do. plain do.	Voxhumain, tipt	Double Basses
C Clarinets, tips, ebony mouth-piece	Do. plain	Violincellos at different prices
C do. do. box do.	Tenoroon	Tenors
C do. plain do. do.	B Fife (Military), with key	Violins at all prices
B do. tipt, with extra keys	B do. do. without do.	Violin Bows of all sorts and prices
C do. do. do.	C do. do. with do.	Do. Bridge
E do. do. do.	C do. do. without do.	Do. Pegs
German Flutes, patents with 6 silver keys	A do. in 1 piece	Do. Tail-pieces
Do. do. do. with 4 do.	A do. 3 tips	Violincello Bows of all sorts
Do. do. do. with 1 do.	B do. 3 do.	Do. Pegs and Bridges
Do. do. with 6 silver keys and extra joints	B do. 2 do.	Do. Tail-pieces
Do. do. with 6 brass do. tipt	B. do. plain	Rosin Boxes, bone and wood
Do. do. with 5 silver do. do.	C do. 3 tips	Mutes, brass and ivory
Do. do. with 5 brass do. do.	C do. 2 do.	Ruling Pens
Do. do. with 5 do. do. plain	C do. plain	Tuning Forks and Hammers
Do. do. with 4 silver do. tipt	Flagelets (English), plain	German Flute Mouth-pieces
Do. do. with 4 brass do. do.	Do. do. tipt	Bassoon Reeds
Do. do. with 4 brass do. plain	Do. (French), ivory mouth-piece, tips	Clarinet do.
Do. do. with 1 silver do. tipt	Do. do. do. plain	Hautboy do.
Do. do. with 1 brass do. do.	Tabor Pipes	Ruled Music Books of all sorts
Do. do. with 1 do. do. plain	——— Drums	Ruled Music Paper do.
German Flutes, Seconds, 1 brass key, plain	French Horns, Concert, English, with all the crooks	Piano Forte and Guitar Strings
Do. do. Thirds, 4 silver do. tipt	Do. do. Foreign, do.	Music Desks of all sorts
Do. do. Thirds, 1 do. do. do.	Trumpet Concert, with crooks	French Horn Mouth-pieces
	Do. E flat	Trumpet and Bugle Horn do.
	Bugle Horns, large	Real Importers of Violin Strings...
		PIANO FORTES of every Description

The question now arises as to which firm had the English flageolet first. Both published tutors for the new instrument, but they are undated. Astor's catalogue imprinted 1799 does not mention the flageolet under the heading 'INSTRUCTION BOOKS, new Editions', only 'Fife', 'Flute', and 'Common Flute' among members of the flute family. Similarly, Goulding's catalogue lists only tutors for the German Flute, Common Flute, and Fife. *The New & Complete Pocket Preceptor for the English & French Flagelets* (London Printed by Geo. Astor, Military Musical Instrument Maker to his Majestys Army N^o 79 Cornhill)²⁹⁰ states on page 5: 'English & French Flageolets may be supplied by the real Manufacturer G Astor'. As we have seen, he removed to Cornhill in 1796 and began styling himself maker to the army at the same time. He remained in Cornhill until his death in 1813, sometimes but not always adding his extra premises to his address. Humphries and Smith state that the firm 'Became George Astor and Co. or, Astor and Co., c. 1801'. But again, the designation 'Astor and Co.' had already appeared in 1796, and the paucity of advertisements after 1800 makes the consistency of any claim impossible to prove. Therefore, the tutor cannot be dated more accurately than 1799–1813.

The English & French Flageolet Preceptor; in the Whole Art of playing the Flageolet, rendr'd Easy to every Capacity... London Printed by Goulding Phipps & D'Almaine, Music Seller to their Royal Highnesses the Prince & Princess of Wales. 45 Pall Mall and Manufacturer of Military Musical Instruments, 76 St. James's Street. & to be had of W. Bainbridge, Teacher of the Flageolet and German Flute, No. 2 Little Queen Street, Holborn.²⁹¹

Goulding's tutor is easier to pin down: 1800–1804. The firm added the St James' Street premises in 1800. Bainbridge advertised at his 'Music Shop and Flageolet Manufactory' at Little Queen Street on 21

March 1803 (*Morning Chronicle*); on 23 July 1804 he announced he had removed to 35 Holborn Hill (*Morning Chronicle*).

The inventor of the English flageolet has not been traced, although it could well have been Bainbridge. In an advertisement for his newly patented octave flageolet, *Morning Chronicle*, 21 March 1803, he stated that he had been 'First Flute, Oboe and Flageolet Player, for the last five years, at Astley's Theatre and Sadler's Wells' and had 'served an apprenticeship in the Turnery business'.²⁹²

Thomas Power (fl. 1790)

A London directory of 1790 lists: 'Power Thomas, flute, hautbuoy, clarinet and bassoon maker, 24, St. John street. Clerkenwell'.²⁹³ He is otherwise unknown.

Hall

18 July 1792, *Star*

TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION, By THOMAS ELLIOTT, On TUESDAY, the 26th of this Instant July, at Mr. MARTIN's, the Sign of the Black-a-moor Lady, in the Castle View, near St. Mary's Church, Leicester... a Hautboy, with Silver Keys, (Maker, HALL, London); two ditto, plain; a good Bassoon, nearly new; and two German Flutes...

Elliott was a stringed-instrument maker. The maker Hall is previously unrecorded in the late eighteenth century, so perhaps this reference is a garbled version of Hallet.

John Preston (d. 1798)

The following advertisement establishes the (approximate) death date of John Preston, to whose firm Waterhouse attributes the marks 'PRESTON / LONDON' and 'Preston, London (unicorn head)' found on a surviving flute, clarinet, and bassoon.²⁹⁴

15 January 1798, *Oracle and Public Advertiser*

²⁹⁰ Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, no. 206. The title page states that the tutor had been 'Entd. At Stats. Hall', but it is not listed in *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall 1710–1818* or Rice, 'A Selection of Instrumental and Vocal Tutors'.

²⁹¹ <http://www.flageolets.com/music/bainbridgepreceptor/>; accessed 9 February 2009. Warner, *An Annotated Bibliography*, no. 294, lists a later edition: *The English & French Flageolet Preceptor...* Printed by Goulding, Phipps, D'Almaine & Co. 124, New Bond Street and No. 7 Westmorland Street, Dublin. The firm removed from 117 to 124 New Bond Street between 18 May and 24 September 1807, and the first advertisement to add this Dublin address to the new London address dates from 7 March 1808 (all *Morning Chronicle*). Again, despite the notice 'Entd. at Stat. Hall' on the title page of the later edition, the tutor is not listed in *Music Entries at Stationers' Hall 1710–1818* or Rice, 'A Selection of Instrumental and Vocal Tutors'.

²⁹² The patent was not officially granted until 2 April 1803; see *Patents for Inventions*, 46.

²⁹³ Wakefield's *Merchant and Tradesman's General Directory for London, Westminster, Borough of Southwark, and Twenty-two Miles Circular from St. Paul's, for the Year 1790*, 266.

²⁹⁴ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 311.

DIED. Lately, Mr. Preston, Musical Instrument Maker, in the Strand.

It has been previously known that Preston 'by about 1774 was established as a guitar and violin maker in London';²⁹⁵ was at 9 Banbury Court, Long Acre, c1774–75;²⁹⁶ and 'in an advertisement of 1778 ... claimed to be the original inventor of the method for tuning the guitar with a watch key'.²⁹⁷ An advertisement in *London Evening Post*, 7 January 1766, pushes back his making and establishment by eight years and his invention by twelve:

JOHN PRESTON, Of Banbury-Court, Long-Acre, London, GUITTAR and VIOLIN-MAKER, BEGS Leave to acquaint the Nobility, Gentry, and others, That he has lately found out and invented a new Improvement, or Instrument, for Tuning of Guittars; and which is greatly approved of by all Masters and Dealers in this Branch of Business, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, by many Years Practice and Industry, which never could as yet be found out, though various Attempts has been made for that Purpose, but to no Effect.

The Manner of Tuning the above Guittars is by a small Watch Key, which is done Instantly, and will keep the tune in that Order for a Month together, unless altered.

Whereas others will not keep in Tune for five Minutes, the Pegs belonging thereunto are of so bad a Nature, that the Nobility, Gentlemen, and Ladies, do not chuse to trouble themselves so much with the above Guittars, being so troublesome to tune.

The Proprietor of the above Guittars begs Leave to say, that, upon producing the same, that all those who are pleased to favour him with their Commands, will be fully satisfied of the above, and shall be waited on immediately.

N. B. Please to beware of Counterfeits, as the Proprietor signs his Name on the Belly of the above Guittars; and all Orders sent shall be punctually observed, and at the lowest Prices, Wholesale and Retail, for ready Money only.²⁹⁸

In an advertisement in *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 9 April 1778, Preston, now removed to No. 105, near Beaufort Buildings, Strand, still

described himself as 'Guittar and Violin-maker, and the original Inventor for tuning the guittar with a watch key'. He had also started to expand his line: 'Of whom may be had, all sorts of musical instruments, violin-strings, harpsichord wires, and every other article in the music branch wholesale, retail, and for exportation, on the most reasonable terms. N.B. To be sold cheap, two second-hand barrel organs, two harpsichords, and two spinnets'. As late as 1786, as an advertisement in *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, 25 July, shows, Preston could still bill himself as 'Guittar-maker and original Inventor of the machine for tuning with a watch-key' while promoting his new 'patent piano forte guittars'.²⁹⁹

As far as woodwind instruments are concerned, Preston seems to have been a dealer rather than a maker. We saw above that woodwind instruments by John Cramer were being sold by the firm. No. 97 Strand, the address given by Humphries and Smith as the sole one c1778–87, is listed in an advertisement in *General Evening Post*, 13 December 1785, as a 'Manufactory'. Preston had already established a 'commodious Second-Hand Musical Instrument Warehouse' at Exeter-Change nearby, where he let instruments out on three months' trial, 'to be Exchanged, or the full Money Returned, deducting the Hire and Porterage'. He also supplied new or second-hand instruments to 'Merchants and Captains of Ships, having Commissions for Musical Instruments', and advertised: 'Instruments Sold by Commission, taken in Exchange, Lett out, Repaired, and Tuned, in Town, and Country'.

As with Longman, the most lucrative part of his business was keyboard and stringed instruments. The only woodwind instruments mentioned by name in his advertisements (e.g., *General Evening Post*, 13 December 1788) are bassoons, presumably because of the greater profit margin on them.

'PRESTON and SON' are first mentioned together in *World*, 19 February 1789, two years before the 1791 date that Waterhouse gives for 'John and Thomas Preston'.³⁰⁰ An advertisement in the same newspaper on 24 November 1789 calls the firm 'Manufacturers of Musical Instruments, Music Printers, Publishers and Wholesale Dealers'. They had just purchased the stock-in-trade of Robert

²⁹⁵ *Music Printing and Publishing*, 'Preston'.

²⁹⁶ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, s.v., 'Preston (John)'.

²⁹⁷ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, s.v. 'Preston'.

²⁹⁸ Repeated, *Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, 3 February 1766.

²⁹⁹ Such a patent is not listed in *Patents for Inventions*.

³⁰⁰ Humphries and Smith state that 'His son Thomas joined the business and it became Preston and Son ... c. 1789–98'.

Bremner, music publisher and instrument dealer (d. 12 May).³⁰¹

John Parker (fl. 1770–1815)

Waterhouse cites John Parker at 52 Long Lane, Southwark, c1770–1804, then until c1815 at 3 Angel Court, Strand. Parker is listed in a London trade directory of 1794 as ‘Musical Wind Instrument Maker’ at the Southwark address.³⁰² He is also found in Doane’s directory the same year as ‘Oboe, Bass, Bassoon, Wind Instrument-Maker, &c. New Mu Fu, Abb, Han So.’³⁰³ The abbreviations for the places he had performed mean New Musical Fund, Westminster Abbey, and Handelian Society. ‘Bass’ may mean bass singer rather than double bass player: *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* cites a payment to him by the Academy of Ancient Music in the 1787–88 season as ‘Alto Voice 6/6/0’.³⁰⁴

Parker took an apprentice named Thomas Rayment on 16 January 1793.³⁰⁵ Six years later, he placed the following advertisement:

15 July 1799, *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*

WANTED an APPRENTICE to a FLUTE MAKER. His friends to find him in Clothes, Washing, &c. a Premium will be expected. Apply to JOHN PARKER, No. 52, Long-lane, Southwark. N.B. Two Journeymen wanted as above.

‘Flute-maker’ was often a generic designation for woodwind maker in the eighteenth century. But it may be significant that he described himself in this way, because there are more surviving members of the flute family by him than reed instruments.

Nikolaj Tarasov suggests that Parker’s career may have lasted well beyond 1815. He has seen a duct flute with a six-finger system under the trademark *Dulcet* bearing both the ‘B S’ plus triangle mark of the dealer Barnett Samuel (established 1832) and the ‘Improved Parker London’ (with crown) mark of Parker, as well as a similar instrument with the BS mark and Parker’s crown only.³⁰⁶ But perhaps

these instruments were left-over stock that Barnett Samuel had acquired because, if Waterhouse is correct, Parker would have been born no later than the 1740s.

Charles Wigley (fl. 1797–1825)

Wigley is largely known today as the instrument maker who was sued unsuccessfully by William Bainbridge in 1810 for infringing his flageolet patent.³⁰⁷ According to Waterhouse, a flute, a flageolet, and a bugle survive with Wigley’s mark. In 1811, he entered into partnership with the flute maker Malcolm McGregor, who the previous year had patented ‘a flute ... with improved keys, which ... are also applicable to flutes and various other musical instruments then in use,’ the object being to produce flutes an octave below all the different sizes of flute.³⁰⁸ Several flutes of various types by this partnership survive.

Humphries and Smith have the following entry for Wigley: ‘Musical instrument maker, music seller and publisher, London; Spring Gardens, Charing Cross, c. 1799–1801; became Wigley and Bishop, adjoining the Academy of Fashion, Spring Gardens, c. 1801–04; alone at 204 Strand, c. 1804–11; 151 Strand, c. 1811–16; 84 Strand, c. 1816–24. About 1813 issued some publications with the imprint “London. Published by C. Wigley Panharmonicon Exhibition, Royal Great Rooms, Spring Gardens”. He was also a jeweller in business at the Repository of Fashion, 6 Spring Gardens’.³⁰⁹

Newspaper advertisements reveal many details of Wigley’s varied career as businessman and entrepreneur. He is first mentioned in *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 17 August 1797, at Spring Garden Gate, Charing Cross. What he was doing there is set out three months later on 24 December in *E. Johnson’s British Gazette and Sunday Monitor*:

REPOSITORY OF FASHION, At the NEW PROMENADE ROOMS, (late Cox’s MUSEUM) SPRING-GARDENS.

³⁰¹ Notice in *St. James’s Chronicle or the British Evening Post*, 14 May 1789.

³⁰² *Wakefield’s Merchants and Tradesman’s General Directory for London, Westminster, Borough of Southwark and Twenty-Two Miles Circular from St. Paul’s for the Year 1794*, 234.

³⁰³ Doane, *A Musical Directory*, 49.

³⁰⁴ *Biographical Dictionary of Actors* 11 (1987), s.v., ‘Parker, John’.

³⁰⁵ London Music Trades 1750–1800, citing Apprenticeship Books at Public Record Office, Kew, IR1/35, f. 182.

³⁰⁶ E-mail message to the author, 10 February 2009; Samuel Barnett date from Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 343.

³⁰⁷ Waterhouse, *New Langwill Index*, 248, 429. The case, King’s Bench, December 1810, is reported in William Carpmal, *Law Reports of Patent Cases*, I (London: A. Macintosh, 1843), 270–73.

³⁰⁸ *Patents for Inventions*, 61–62.

³⁰⁹ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, s.v. ‘Wigley (Charles)’.

THE great Encouragement that has reverted to C. WIGLEY, Inventor and Manufacturer of ELASTIC SPRING BANDS, and other useful and ornamental Articles, hath enabled him to prepare

A M A G A Z I N,

Worthy the Approbation of his polite and fashionable Visitants. This Assemblage of Taste consists of Jewellery, Gold and Silver Trinkets, Toys, Cutlery, Hardware, Japan and Tunbridge Ware, Work-Baskets of Straw and Paper manufactured by French Emigrants, and a Variety of other Goods that were never before blended in one Collection; and as the lowest Price is affixed to every Article, those Ladies and Gentlemen who are induced to become Purchasers, will be accommodated on that Scale of Honour which the Proprietor has, during the Series of Years he has been in Business, found to be his greatest professional Recommendation: His Determination not to deviate from the System he has adopted, renders it impossible for him to make any Abatement.

N. B. Travelling Cases and Rocking Horses in the greatest Variety.

The upper Promenade Room will shortly be opened to exhibit (gratis) several capital Paintings, Models, and ingenious Articles, to the Company who honour the Proprietor with their Presence.

The original meaning of the word ‘magazine’ was ‘A place where goods are kept in store; a storehouse for goods or merchandise; a warehouse or depot’ (*Oxford English Dictionary*). Spring Gardens, famous in the twentieth century as the home of the London County Council, now crosses The Mall near Admiralty Arch and Trafalgar Square.

This advertisement displays Wigley’s extravagant style of writing, not to mention his ingenious way of telling customers that he never gave discounts. The combination of fashionable fancy goods emporium and exhibition rooms continued for a decade. A similar advertisement in *Sun*, 5 April 1798, adds: ‘Merchants, Shopkeepers, Mantua-makers, Milliners, and Boarding Schools, continued to be served wholesale as usual’. A number of exhibitions were announced over the years, including French plate looking glasses, a model of a temple in crystal, and Daniel Orme’s painting of The Landing of the Princess of Wales at Greenwich, inspiring a visit by

the queen, princesses, and Duke and Duchess of York (April 1798); Henri Maillardet’s automaton (May 1798–June 1802); miniature historical portraits by Samuel Percy (April 1799); a painting of London and environs by Thomas Girtin (August 1802); Samuel Page’s ‘true original invisible girls’ (October 1803); pictures in silk, satin, and velvet (June 1804); and various paintings and panoramas (June 1806).³¹⁰ By 1803, Wigley had upgraded his promenade rooms to ‘Royal’.

There is no mention of Wigley and Bishop in the advertisements. But the name is suspiciously like a firm of haberdashers, Bishop and Wigley, who advertised their warehouse at 53 Great Portland Street, Oxford Street, between 1794 and 1797, and are listed in London directories between 1788 and 1799.³¹¹

In 1807, Wigley announced the first of a series of retirements that were to spread out for the next eighteen years. The following advertisement appeared in *Morning Chronicle*, 20 April:

GREAT BARGAINS.—Exhibition and Sale Room, at the Repository of Fashion, Spring Garden.—C. WIGLEY, the Proprietor, begs to inform his Friends and the Public, that he is retiring from Business, and will, during the present Season, SELL by AUCTION, every Evening commencing at Seven o’clock, his STOCK of GOODS... And during the Day Time, the Stock on Hand will be sold under Prime Cost. All the exhibitions are likewise to be disposed of, except the Panorama of Boulogne by Serres, which will close at the end of this season, to be shipped for the East Indies.

The auction was announced ten months later, in *Times*, 13 February 1808:

THE spacious and well-arranged PREMISES, centrally situate in Spring-gardens, and now occupied by Mr. Wigley’s various Exhibitions. The premises comprise rooms, warehouses, and domestic apartments, competent for the purpose of auctions, lectures, picture gallery, assemblies, or exhibitions, requiring space and light, together with a profitable cyder cellar, long established, and in good repute and business, together of the annual value of 300l. The said premises held for 10 years, unexpired, at a

³¹⁰ *Sun*, 5 April 1798; *Morning Chronicle*, 29 May 1798; *E. Johnson’s British Gazette and Sunday Monitor*, 24 June 1798; *Morning Herald*, 11 April 1799; *Oracle and Daily Advertiser*, 16 May 1799; *Morning Chronicle*, 9 November 1801, 21 June 1802, 6 August 1802, 27 October 1803, 11 June 1804, 27 June 1806.

³¹¹ *Times*, 25 July 1794; *Morning Chronicle*, 3, 28 February 1795; *Daily Advertiser*, 13 August 1796; *Oracle and Public Advertiser*, 28 November 1796, 4 January 1797; *The London Directory for the Year 1788*; 164; *A London Directory* (1799), 170.

pepper-corn rent, and early possession had. May be viewed by leave of the tenant...

But Wigley does not seem to have succeeded in selling up, as the flow of advertisements continued unabated: a panoramic view of Edinburgh by John Augustus Atkinson and Maillardet's Wonderful Mechanical Productions (June 1807); Passion Week Exhibitions (April 1808); an auction of paintings by George Morland (March 1809); grand illuminated panoramic views (June 1809); the Panharmonicon, an instrument that plays eight pieces of music (November 1811–December 1813);³¹² auctions of 'property belonging to distressed manufacturers' (April 1812); a performance by a 'learned pig' (February 1817); a needlework portrait of the Duke of Wellington (June 1817); Theatre of Arts: representations of Marseilles, Paris, Malta, Geneva, fireworks, a Storm at Sea (November 1818); and a collection of paintings (March 1819).³¹³

When Wigley made another attempt at selling up in 1815, the advertisement (*Morning Chronicle*, 16 August) showed that he had been selling musical instruments besides his fancy goods:

... at Wigley's Great Rooms, Spring Gardens, THE GLASS CASES, Show-Glasses, Counters, drawers, and various other fittings-up of those extensive Premises, together with a quantity of musical instruments, Merlin's chairs and swings, Tunbridge ware, ivory and tortoiseshell tea caddies, rocking horses, optical show glasses for magnifying prints, various toys, three large French plate glasses, a quantity of household furniture, patent lamps, and miscellaneous effects, the remains of the stock of the proprietor, retiring from business...

When that apparently failed, he tried converting the premises into what he called a bazaar, or in other words, a 'permanent market, usually consisting of ranges of shops or stalls, where all kinds of merchandise are offered for sale' (*Oxford English Dictionary*). In *Morning Chronicle*, 25 May 1816, he advertised:

ROYAL BAZAAR, Great Room, Spring-gardens—The Public are respectfully informed by the Proprietor, Mr. WIGLEY, that his spacious Rooms will be ready early in June next, for the display of Property as a

BAZAAR. The well known respectability of these Rooms, and their having been honoured with the presence of the Queen and all the Princesses, and now promised the patronage of Prince Coburg, &c. will no doubt insure them a complete success. The terms for situations will be liberal, and novelty in the undertaking, superior to any Bazaar yet opened. Early application for Stands is requested, as it is wished that only two trades alike should be admitted in the Establishment, and that the sale of the articles should be superintended by Females, whose Parents shall be the Manufacturers; the whole being intended for the support of industrious families—Terms and Regulations to be had at the Rooms.

Five months later, an advertisement in *Times*, 14 October 1816, shows that he had held on to at least some of his rooms in Spring Gardens, although by now he resided elsewhere:

TO PROFESSORS of MUSIC and DANCING.—Mr. WIGLEY, proprietor of the Royal Rooms, Spring-gardens, respectfully makes known to Amateurs of Music and Dancing, or private Families forming Parties for the ensuing Winter Amusements, that his LARGE ROOM has been fitted up, at a great expense, for SUBSCRIPTION CONCERTS and BALLS, and may be ENGAGED on reasonable terms for one night or more. For particulars inquire at the Rooms from 12 to 4 o'clock; at other hours, of the proprietor, 3, Cardogan-place, Sloane-street.

The Theatre of Arts, announced by Wigley on 11 November 1818 ('positively the last week but one of its remaining'), was sold to a Mr. Miller a month later (*Morning Chronicle*, 17 December). Four months after that (*Morning Chronicle*, 20 April 1819), the remainder of Wigley's jewellery stock-in-trade was auctioned:

Jewellery.—By Mr. ABBOTT (successor to Mr. Hermon), at his Spacious Room, 26, Conduit-street, in the early part of May, by order of Mr. Charles Wigley, retiring from business. THE remaining Part of his elegant and valuable STOCK of JEWELLERY, Mahogany air tight Show Cases, with metal frames, counters, and numerous other articles.

Wigley's parallel musical endeavors are first men-

³¹² See *Grove Music Online*, s.v., 'Panharmonicon', by Barbara Owen and Arthur W. J. G. Orme-Hume.

³¹³ *Morning Chronicle*, 6 June 1807, 18 April 1808, 17 March 1809; *Times*, 15 June 1809, 29 November 1811, 10, 20 December 1811, 20 April 1812, 12 March 1813, 14 April 1813, 1 December 1813, 20 February 1817, 4 June 1817; *Times*, 11 November 1818; *Morning Chronicle*, 12 March 1819.

tioned in a fire insurance policy he took out on 10 October 1804, when he was described as ‘music seller and dealer in musical instruments,’ at 204 Strand.³¹⁴ This address was confirmed in an advertisement in *Morning Chronicle*, 29 December 1808: ‘Wigley’s Musical Instrument Warehouse, No. 204, Strand exactly opposite St. Clement’s Church, and five doors from Essex-street’. And the same address is repeated on 21 October 1809 and 16 February 1810.

By 27 December 1811 (*Morning Chronicle*) he had removed to 151 Strand, announcing that he manufactured keyboard instruments:

PIANO-FORTES.—A great variety of fine-toned PIANO-FORTES, in elegant cases, with the additional keys, pedal, pillar legs, and three drawers, warranted, and may be exchanged, in one or two months, if not approved, at 25 Guineas.—Likewise, several Second-hand Grand and Square Ones, at Five, Eight, and Ten Guineas.—The above Piano-Fortes are of the best quality, and the cheapest in London.—Finger and Barrel Organs, in Gothic and other cases of every description, equally cheap, at WIGLEY’s Musical Instrument Manufactory, 151, adjoining Somerset-House, Strand.

A similar advertisement the following year (*Morning Chronicle*, 20 June 1812) adds: ‘A large assortment of Bird, Flute, Table, and Chamber Organs, in Elegant Gothic cases, equally cheap’. Ever one to exploit an advertisement, he promised in *Morning Chronicle*, 28 December 1813: ‘These instruments are warranted to stand well in tune...’ That year the Post Office directory, which had previously mentioned only his premises in Spring Gardens, listed both: ‘Repository of Fashion, Spring-gardens, Charing-cross; and Musical Instrument Manufacturer, 151, Strand’.

Wigley’s attitude to business is demonstrated in the following anecdote from a biography of the Irish actress Dorothy Jordan (1761–1816), long-time mistress of William, Duke of Clarence (the future William IV), recounting her selling up before she moved to France to flee her creditors in 1815:

Mr. Charles Wigley, who possessed the spacious apartments formerly existing in Spring Gardens, and appropriated to the display of public exhibitions, was applied to by Mrs. Jordan, of whom he had some

previous knowledge, in order that he might become the purchaser of her furniture, &c. The above-mentioned gentleman who was well acquainted with Mr. Fisher, the auctioneer, father of the celebrated Clara Fisher, of histrionic fame, called upon the latter, and requested he would accompany him to estimate the household goods, pictures, &c., at a dwelling in Sloane-square, without intimating the name of the individual to whom the property belonged.

Mr. Fisher accordingly accompanied Mr. Wigley through the apartments, and as had been previously agreed, without proceeding to make an inventory, gave his estimate from the cursory glance, being from habit perfectly conversant with the value of furniture. Having completed the survey, they adjourned to a coffee house, when Mr. Fisher informed his friend that supposing an individual wanted the articles as they stood, the carpets, &c., being fitted to the rooms, they were well worth three hundred pounds; but if to be removed, he conceived one hundred less would be a fair estimate, though he might go as far as 220.

Mr. Fisher then accompanied Mr. Wigley back to Sloane-square, when the former gentleman, to his no small astonishment, was introduced to Mrs. Jordan, who he then found to be the proprietress of the articles he had been requested to appraise. After some conversation upon the subject, Mr. Fisher retired, leaving Mr. Wigley to close the bargain with our actress alone, which was done for the reduced sum of one hundred guineas, notwithstanding Mr. Fisher had stated that the property was worth 220 added, to which the lease of the premises was thrown into the bargain, which the last mentioned gentlemen assured the writer, was in his estimation worth 500, yielding to Mr. Wigley, the purchaser, a very snug profit, if he could reconcile the transaction to his conscience.³¹⁵

‘C. Wigley, 151 Strand’, was listed among the sellers of John Eager’s pamphlet evaluating Johann Bernhard Logier’s ‘new system of musical education’ in *Morning Chronicle*, 19 November 1819. Three months earlier (*Liverpool Mercury*, 6 August 1819), C. G. Wigley, perhaps a son, was among the authorized teachers advertised for Logier’s system.

Wigley had in fact already moved along the Strand: although a fire insurance policy of 30 August 1816 still places him at no. 151, another policy of 28 July 1817 describes him as of 84 Strand, ‘music

³¹⁴ Sun Fire Insurance: Guildhall Library, Ms. 11936/431/767829.

³¹⁵ Confidential Friend of the Departed, *The Great Illegitimates!! Public and Private Life of that Celebrated Actress, Miss Bland, or otherwise Mrs. Ford, or Mrs. Jordan* (London: J. Duncombe, 1830), 92–93.

seller,' and that address is also found in policies from 3 December 1818 and 22 March 1821.³¹⁶ The new address is confirmed in an advertisement in *Morning Chronicle*, 10 June 1820: 'music warehouse, 84, Strand, corner of Cecil-street'. He may have shortly been in a little financial trouble, as on 10 February 1821 he advertised in *Morning Chronicle*: 'MORTGAGE.—WANTED, 3000l. on ample Freehold Security, in London.—Direct to C. W. at Mr. Wigley's Music Warehouse, 84, Strand'. He still appears at that address in the Post Office directory for 1824.

The following year, however, in *Times*, 18 July 1825,³¹⁷ he advertised his final retirement from business, from a new address on Regent Street. The advertisement shows his great variety of stock, including only flageolets made by his competitors, despite the earlier litigation.

To Musical Instrument Makers, Professors, and the Public.—Large and valuable Stock of Musical Finger and Wind Instruments, superior Roman Violin Strings, Printed Music, &c. the genuine stock of Mr. Charles Wigley, retiring to the Continent.

TOPLIS and SON respectfully announce that, by order of the Proprietor, they shall submit by AUCTION, on the Premises, No. 224, Regent-street, corner of Argyle-place, THIS DAY, the 27th of July, and To-morrow, the 28th of July, at 12 o'clock each day, without reserve, the whole of the valuable STOCK in TRADE, comprising several very excellent square pianofortes in modern cases, a panharmonicon ditto, with 2 barrels, playing 16 tunes, very brilliant toned pianofortes with the additional keys, in elegant rosewood, mahogany and zebra wood cases, a capital finger organ by Leynham, with 8 stops and shifting movement, a very superior ditto by Father Smith, with 8 stops and swell, in handsome mahogany gothic case, a machine organ by Wigley, a large variety of fifes, plain German flutes, very superior and costly ditto of box wood, ebony, and ivory, with 6 and 8 silver keys, single and double flageolets of Scott and Purkis's, and Bainbridge's patents, clarionets, very fine toned violins and violoncellos, with bows (among them are many of peculiar excellence), 2 small bassoons, Spanish guitars of English and foreign manufacture, tabors, tambourines, trombones, concert trumpets, military and hunting horns, keyed bugles, three bird organs,

&c. A large quantity of the best Roman violin strings, collected by the proprietor at a great expense. A collection of vocal and instrumental music, including Mazzinghi's and Nathan's airs, pianoforte, flute and flageolet preceptors, operas, trios, &c. The plates for Wigley's flute pocket companion and flageolet tutor, and quantity of drum heads, flute and clarionet joints, violin bellies and crooks, mahogany flute and flageolet cases, a few books, and numerous valuable effects. May be viewed 2 days preceding the sale; catalogues (6d. each) had on the premises (where the wine may be viewed and samples obtained; and of Toplis and Son, 22, St. Paul's churchyard.

The lease on the imposing premises was advertised ten days later, in *Times*, 27 July 1825:

Important Business Premises, Regent-street.—A very commodious Leasehold Dwelling-house, with commanding Shop, and distinct private entrance, most advantageously situate, and well adapted for a business of the first importance, being No. 224, Regent-street, the corner of Argyll-place.—By TOPLIS and SON, on the Premises, To-morrow, July 28, at 12, unless previously disposed of by private contract, by order of the Proprietor, Mr. Charles Wigley, who is retiring from business.

THE House contains, on the third floor, 3 sleeping rooms; on the second floor, three best bed rooms; first floor, 2 handsome drawing rooms communicating by folding doors; ground floor, a very excellent shop, with commanding and attractive frontage, adjoining to which is a commodious back room, with open communication; a distinct private entrance in Argyll-place, with handsome hall and light staircase; basement, 2 large kitchens, scullery, and paved area, with excellent wine and beer cellars, &c. The above desirable premises are held on lease for a term, whereof 20 years were unexpired at Midsummer last, subject to a low rent of 240l. per annum. May be viewed, and particulars had on the premises; and of Toplis and Son, 22, St. Paul's churchyard.

Wigley is still listed in the Post Office directory for 1826 as 'Musical-instrument-manufacturer, Regent-st.' but he did not place any further advertisements.

Although Wigley is not mentioned in Clinkscale's standard book on piano makers,³¹⁸ his instruments

³¹⁶ Sun Fire Insurance: Guildhall Library, Mss. 11936/471/921666, 11936/476/933206, 11936/477/948022, and 11936/488/978167.

³¹⁷ The version on 21 July has the alternative wording: 'retiring from business' and adds 'about 25 Dozens of very fine old Port Wine'.

³¹⁸ Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano: Vol. 1, 1700–1820; Vol. 2: 1820–1860*.

clearly sold, as they are mentioned in several advertisements for auctions: 'a fine toned Barrel Organ, with Drum and Triangle by Wigley, new within six months' (1806); 'a square piano by Wigley' (1817); 'capital Patent Barrel Organ, by Wigley, plays 50 tunes' (1818); 'a handsome brilliant-toned piano-forte, with additional keys by Wigley' (1820); 'Pianofortes with the additional keys (new and second-hand), by ... Wigley...' (1824); 'An elegant full-toned Barrel Organ, made by Wigley, of London, which may, at a trifling Expence, be adapted for a small Church or Chapel' (1825); 'Piano forte by Wigley' (1826); 'a square piano-forte by Wigley' (1829); 'a pianoforte by Wigley' (1830).³¹⁹

Humphries and Smith also mention a John Wigley: 'Music and musical instrument seller, London: 15 Coventry Street, Haymarket c. 1786–1805; 11 Princess Street, Hanover Square, c. 1805–10'.³²⁰ John seems to have been a relative of Charles, perhaps an older brother, because he is listed in the Post Office directory for 1810 under 'Merlin's, 11, Prince's-street, Hanover-square', then in 1813 under 'Merlin's Museum, Spring-gardens'. Charles' five-year-old son performed on the bugle in a concert in 1805 (*Times*, 7 October).³²¹

ADDENDUM (1) Since this article was written, Christian Ahrens has reported a pair of documents from the court in Gotha, showing that Schuchart Sr. delivered three oboes himself for the court orchestra on 15 August 1725, signing for them as 'Johann Just Schuchardt.' The receipt describes him as 'einen Instrumentmachern aus London' (an instrument maker from London). Ahrens speculates that 'he originated from Middle Germany, presumably a place not too far from Gotha because he was able to travel to that town for delivering his oboes.' See 'The London Woodwind Instrument Maker John Jost [sic] Schuchart (Schuchardt),' *GSJ* 62 (2009): 287–88.

ADDENDUM (2) Adam Martin's instruments were already being exported in 1790. On 4 January, *Daily Advertiser*, Kingston, Jamaica, advertised 'Martin's best flutes'; and on 1 February, 'Martin's plain and

tipt German flutes, D[itt]o. d[itt]o. oboes.' George Astor was already selling Italian oboes in 1793. On 28 November, *Calcutta Gazette* advertised a new shipment from England, including 'FROM G ASTOR. Italian Hautboy, with bell [and] Silver Keys, Best tipt Flutes, with Silver Keys, Clarinets, tipt and extra Keys.'

ADDENDUM (3) A further perusal of American advertisements from the 1780s and 90s has turned up extra items relating to flutes made by Richard Potter, 'patent flutes', or 'Florio flutes':

1 May 1780, *New York Mercury*

Just imported, in the Smaragda, Captain Brine, and the Resolution, Captain Wells, to be sold by Valentine Nutter, at his stationary store, 924, Water-Street, opposite the Coffee House... patent German flutes...

16 November 1793, *Columbian Centinel*

... William Callender, Ivory-Turner, and Whip-Maker, respectfully informs his customers, and the public in general, that he has for sale, at his shop, opposite the store of Messrs James and Thomas Lamb, No. 20, State-street, Boston ... a few best Florio's Flutes with additional Keys and spare pieces, lower priced do...

12 May 1794, *The Diary or Loudon's Register*, New York

Dodds & Clause, have received by the Factor from London, and have now ready for sale, a very general assortment of musical instruments, among with are the following... Patent and common German Flutes...

15 April 1795, *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, Charleston

... Potter's Flutes... imported for sale, in the Romulus, from London, by T. Bradford...

14 October 1795, *Columbia Centinel*, Boston

Nathaniel Blake, informs his friends and customers, in town and country, that he has received by the Minerva, Capt. Scott, from London, and other late arrivals... German and

³¹⁹ *Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle*, 10 November 1806; *Morning Chronicle*, 27 June 1817; *Times*, 23 January 1818, 14 March 1820, 20 May 1824; *Newcastle Courant*, 4 June 1825; *Times*, 3 October 1826; *Morning Chronicle*, 11 June 1829; *Times*, 24 April 1830.

³²⁰ Humphries and Smith, *Music Publishing*, s.v. 'Wigley (John)'.

³²¹ For more details, see Lasocki, 'New Light on the Early History of the Keyed Bugle'.

Florola [Florio?] Flutes...

28 June 1797, *Connecticut Journal*, New Haven
Continuation of I. Beers's list of books, lately received...Facet [sic] and Florio's new invented German Flute...

18 December 1798, *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, Charleston

... John Paff ... No. 228, Meeting-Street, in the house of Mr. Douglass, next door to Mr. Wightman's... for sale... Patent Flutes, Common do...

9 February 1799, *Columbian Centinel*, Boston
Messrs. Linley & Moore, respectfully inform their friends and the public, that they have opened for sale at the Store of Mr. David Bradley, opposite Fanieul Hall (Market Place) the following musical instruments, received by the Columbia.... a patent Flute by Potter, with six silver Keys, and silver Tubes....

4 June 1799, *South-Carolina State Gazette and Timothy's Daily Advertiser*, Charleston
James Jacks & Co. Jewellers and Watch-Makers, No. 109, Broad-Street, have imported in the ship Fox, from London... German Patent and Plain Flutes...

19 July 1799, *Mercantile Advertiser*, New York
George E. Saliment, No. 39 Liberty-Street, respectfully informs his friends, the public in general, and his scholars in particular, that he has received by the last arrivals, an elegant assortment of Potter's Six-Keyed Patent Flutes; also, Four-keyed Flutes of the best kind...

28 November 1799, *Federal Gazette & Baltimore Daily Advertiser*

Music Store, Gay-street, J. Carr has received from the ship Alexandria, from London ... Potter's patent flutes, with silver tubes... Expects a further supply of the above articles by the ship Perseverance...

16 June 1800, *Mercantile Advertiser*

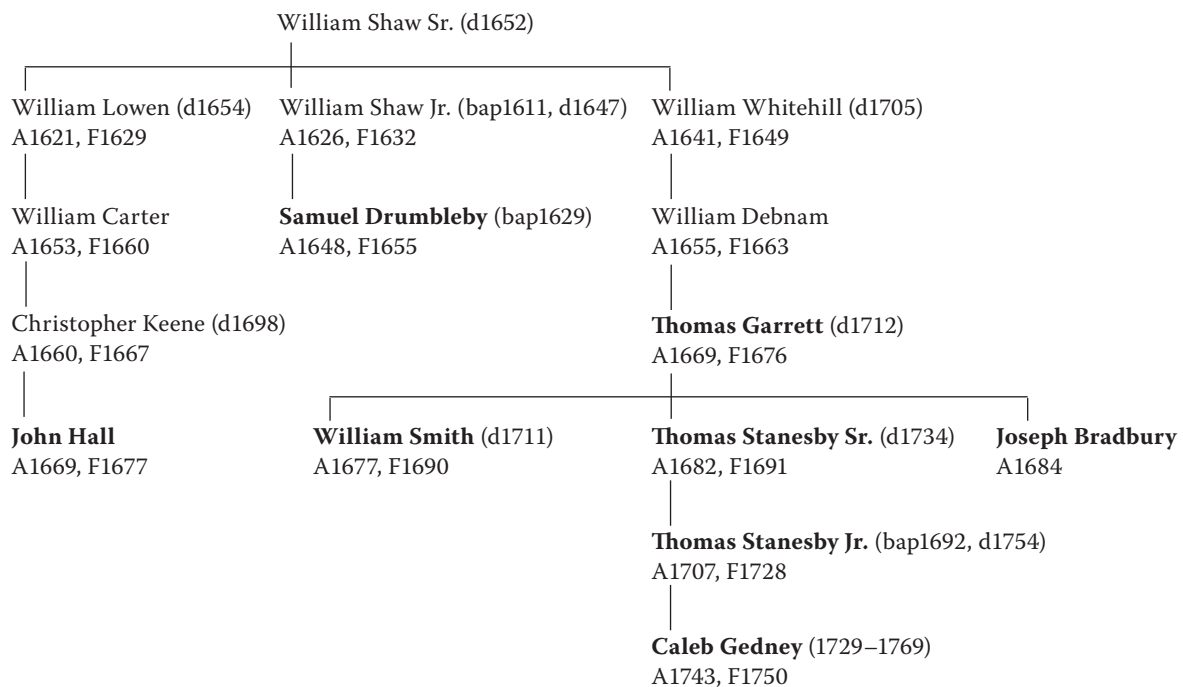
Sarah Howe, relict of William Howe, Organ Builder, no. 320 Pearl-street, New-York ... has ... for sale... patent four-keyed Flutes...

12 November 1800, *Philadelphia Gazette*

New Music Store, No. 13, South Fourth-Street—next door to the Indian Queen Tavern: R. Shaw, respectfully informs his friends and the public, that he hath just opened for sale, at the above place, an elegant assortment of ... musical Instruments; received from London, by the Fidelity, Hampton, and other vessels, via Baltimore, consisting of ... Patent and other Flutes....

Appendix 1. Known Woodwind Makers in the Turners Company of London, 1604–1750

A = year apprenticed; F = year freed. Names in bold are Turners for whom we have corroborative evidence that they were woodwind makers.



Appendix 2. Addresses of the Astor Family and Associates in London.		
26 Wych St	a1781–1796	George Astor
79 Cornhill	1796–1798	George Astor; Astor & Co.
79 Cornhill & 27 Tottenham St	1798–1800	George Astor
79 Cornhill, 27 Tottenham St & 62 Sun St	1800–1809	George Astor, Benjamin Banks & George Horwood
79 Cornhill, 27 Tottenham St & 62 Sun St	1809–1813	George Astor
79 Cornhill, 27 Tottenham St & 62 Sun St	1813–1814	Elizabeth Astor
79 Cornhill, 27 Tottenham St & 62 Sun St	1814–1818	Elizabeth Astor & George Horwood
Warren St → Edmund St	a1818?	William Henry Astor
79 Cornhill, 27 Tottenham St & 62 Sun St	1818–1822	Elizabeth Astor, William Henry Astor & John Lucas
79 Cornhill	1822–1826	Christopher Gerock & Elizabeth Astor
62 Sun St	1822–1823	William Henry Astor & John Lucas
61 Lambs Conduit St → 3 Ann St → Cheapside → New St	1824–1826	William Henry Astor
79 Cornhill	1826–1831	Christopher Gerock
79 Cornhill	1831–1832	Christopher Gerock & Robert Wolf
79 Cornhill	1832–1837	Christopher Gerock
79 Cornhill	1837–1840	Robert Wolf

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